Semyon M. Gurevich

KARL MARX

THE PUBLICIST

Neue Rheinische Zeitung.
Organ der Demokratie.

1848.

Köln, Donnerstag, 1. Juni

№ 1.

International Organization of Journalists
Prague 1986

© International Organization of Journalists

Semyon M. Gurevich

KARL MARX
THE PUBLICIST

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 7

Chapter I. THE SOURCES OF PROLETARIAN PUBLICISM . . 22
1. "For work in the name of humanity." 22
2. Assimilating and Developing Past Experience . . . 28
3. In the Forefront of German Journalism 38
4. Invaluable Heritage 49

Chapter II. SCHOLAR PUBLICIST 63
1. Significant Achievement 63
2. Alliance of Science and Publicism 65
3. Unity in Diversity 76
4. Style of Work 92

Chapter III. FUNDAMENTALS OF A CREATIVE METHOD . . 109
1. From Fact to Thought 109
2. From Thought to Fact 136
3. To Prove to Persuade 147

Chapter IV. MASTER OF GENRE PAINTING 175
1. From a Note to a Lampoon 175
2. The Principal Genre 179
3. Scope Plus Universality 182
4. Quickly Intervening in Life 195

Chapter V. FORM HAS CONTENT 203
1. "We want the workers to understand us." 203
2. Logical Structure of a Work 212
3. "Marx's Style is Marx." 233

Chapter VI. DESTRUCTION FOR CONSTRUCTION 251
1. Art of Militant Polemics 251
2. Promoter of the Theory of Scientific Communism . . 262

CONCLUSION 265

REFERENCES 273

INTRODUCTION

Time has singularly reaffirmed the validity of the ideas advanced by the founders of Marxism. The results of their work have exercised an increasing effect on the development of mankind. Finally, we have been discovering more and more aspects in their revolutionary theoretical and practical activity. It is, therefore, of ever greater value to us. This is also true of Karl Marx's publicistic heritage. The present book is devoted to the study of this heritage.

Journalism playing a mounting role in the life of society, mass media developing intensively to cover all continents of the planet, this has immensely kindled the interest in Karl Marx's publicistic skill.

Several factors have imparted particular topicality to the theme of this book. The first is the immediate practical value of the great proletarian thinker's publicistic experience to progressive journalists and publicists. How does one produce articles for newspapers and journals that would equal Karl Marx's publications in effectiveness? How does one achieve such harmony and unison between content and form? How does one attain such an organic combination of logical argument with emotional expression, rationality with passion, joy and triumph with irony, wrath and indignation? Only knowledge of the "secrets" of Karl Marx's skill as a publicist will give the answers to these and many other questions.

Of course, Karl Marx is unique, unique like any genius, particularly one of such scope, power and universality. But his creative heritage is a school of publicistic writing for all times, for his contemporaries, immediate followers and for us.

The value of Karl Marx's "lessons" in publicism lies above all in his approach to reality, in his vision of the world, in his ability to reveal the essence of the social processes, immediately to comprehend and appreciate the power of fact, to set the aim and task, and accordingly, to choose the right methods in formulating his statement to ensure maximum effectiveness. The methodology governing the publicist's work, the fundamentals guiding the writing of his work make up the main content of Marx's "lessons" to those who study his publicistic heritage.

These "lessons" help reveal important laws governing interconnections and relations between tradition and innovations in journalism. This problem has always been of the greatest interest to journalists. Indeed, every consecutive generation is faced with the same question: what should be used and developed from the historical heritage, and what should be discarded? What should be retained as the content of immutable tradition to be taken over by one generation after another? And what should be changed through expedient innovation? These questions also arise before proletarian publicists. A study of Karl Marx's publicistic heritage and skill helps find the answers to those questions. In particular, these answers propose to retain continuity in the development of communist publicism, the vital elements of its content, the essential points in the formulation of key, strategic goals, of its principles and theoretical fundamentals. At the same time its tactical goals, forms, minor elements and details are subject to change.

Vladimir I. Lenin showed that at a definite stage of social development the emergence of Marxism was law-governed and inevitable. He pointed out that Marxism was the legitimate successor to the best that man produced in the nineteenth century, as represented by German philosophy, English political economy, and French socialism.[1] The appearance of communist journalism as a special form of social activity designed to express and defend, with specific means, the class interests of the proletariat was equally law-governed and inevitable. As the

proletarian press took shape the features and specifics characterising the skill of its publicists were moulded. Some of these, i.e. the more important ones, acquired stability, the character-determining elements developed into a tradition. They manifested themselves in the creative work of every proletarian publicist regardless of the time he lived in and of the conditions he worked in. This is determined by the class, party character of the aims, tasks and role of communist journalism. This has been immutable at all stages of its history. This is precisely why the study of Karl Marx's publicistic heritage and skill is of special interest. Karl Marx together with Friedrich Engels was the first proletarian publicist to uphold the positions of scientific communism and to lay the foundations for communist journalism.

The obvious aggravation of the ideological struggle between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism has added urgency to this study. The capitalist West "employs a whole system of means designed to subvert or soften up the socialist world."

"The imperialists and their accomplices are systematically conducting hostile campaigns against the socialist countries. They malign and distort everything that goes on in them. For them the main thing is to turn the people against socialism."[2]

These hostile campaigns are becoming increasingly sophisticated and crafty. Bourgeois ideologists spare no pains to split the united front of socialist countries and peoples, and to sap the international communist movement. The main targets of their attacks are the Soviet Union and its Communist Party (CPSU). Anti-Sovietism has developed into the main line in the fight against communism. This struggle is being waged in all spheres of ideology, including the historiography of Marxism. Bourgeois falsifiers have been trying to distort the history of the origins and development of Marxism. In doing so they have attempted to break up the process of formation of Marxism-Leninism into pieces by trying to oppose Marxism to Leninism. To substantiate their point they refer to . . . Marx.

It was V. I. Lenin who detected the new tendency the opponents of communist ideology had cultivated. He wrote:

"The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to **disguise themselves** as Marxists."[3]

The opponents of communism, at least those who are still capable of making a realistic appraisal of the present situation, cannot fail to observe the triumphant march of Marxism-Leninism all over the world.

In his book significantly entitled "Well, Why Marxism?" R. Wesson, professor of the University of California, USA, writes that after Marx died he enjoyed unprecedented success. Marxism-Leninism is the only political movement of world-wide character.[4] R. Wesson explains the reason why it is so. Marxism, he writes, gives purpose to human life, it gives the individual a lofty mission, assigns every individual person his place in the great historical process . . .[5]

Modern bourgeois literature is full of statements recognising the tremendous role and importance of Marxism. More than that, in order to mitigate the deepening crisis of capitalism, in order to bolster the tottering system bourgeois historians, sociologists and economists have been referring more and more frequently to Marxist ideas in their works. But in doing so they have invariably ignored their essence. They realise that direct sallies and head-on attacks on Marxism-Leninism will now produce results opposite to those desired. This is what compels them "to disguise themselves as Marxists." That is why in an attempt to win people's minds they falsify the revolutionary doctrine and try to "refute" Leninism, the policy of the CPSU and other Communist Parties upholding positions of proletarian internationalism. The West German bourgeois ideologist O. von Nelle-Breuning, while "recognising" the scientific achievements of the founder of Marxism, solemnly declared:

"We all rest on the shoulders of Karl Marx."

It should be mentioned, however, that bourgeois ideologists, including O. von Nelle-Breuning, accept "all" of Marx's

ideas with the exception of those bearing on the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the inevitable socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship and the transition from capitalism to socialism. By emasculating Marxism as a great revolutionary doctrine which charted the main road of development of human society, which revealed the inevitable collapse of capitalist society, they turn Marx – brilliant proletarian revolutionary – into an armchair theorist, into a "holy 'icon' that is harmless to the bourgeoisie."[7]

The ideological struggle in the field of theory and history of journalism and publicism has been developing along the same lines, in the same forms. It is characterised by equal acuteness. The tendency is a familiar one. While our ideological opponents avoid belittling the services of the classics of Marxism in elaboration of the theory of proletarian, communist journalism, they seek to oppose their ideas to modern practices in the communist and working class press. They also endeavour to break up the single Marxist-Leninist theory of journalism into parts, to separate Marx's stage from the stage of Lenin and the contemporary stage. Their purpose is to try to prove that the current practices of communist journalists "distort" the ideas advanced by the founders of Marxism to the tasks and role of publicism.

It is worth noting that, while bourgeois ideologists "recognise" Karl Marx's role in the formulation of the theoretical fundamentals of journalism, they exert themselves to belittle the significance of his practical work as a journalist and, in particular, his creative work in publicism. They imply that his work as a publicist was of secondary importance, because it allegedly diverted his attention from research. We should not, therefore, be surprised at the fact that bourgeois researchers have ignored Karl Marx's publicistic skill and that Western authors have produced no works on this theme. Several bourgeois authors have been forced to mention this circumstance. For instance, the West German historian H. Kümhoff wrote in an article on the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung:**

"Taking into account the world-wide struggle over Karl Marx's spiritual heritage it is surprising that one aspect characterising the life of the creator of dialectical materialism has so far been overlooked by researchers. Though this aspect did not play a primary role in his work, if the latter is taken as a whole, it is nevertheless inseparable from his development. What is meant is his work as a publicist." He further remarks: "From the age of 24 the thinker and scholar Karl Marx was inseparable from the political-publicistic fighter Karl Marx."[8]

More than that, bourgeois biographers of Karl Marx and other "Marxologists" circulated the legend about Marx's unwillingness to engage in practical journalism, about his hostility towards this occupation and even about lack of publicistic ability and skill. Originally it was A. Ruge, a German petty bourgeois publicist who edited, together with Karl Marx in Paris in 1844, the **Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher** (German-French Yearbooks), that gave currency to this invention. After the first and only issue came out Marx broke off with his co-editor on grounds of fundamental differences on the character of the publication. The enraged Ruge claimed that the rift had been caused because Marx had no aptitude for journalism, because he was unable to conclude any of his numerous undertakings which, Ruge said, Marx tried to work on simultaneously.[9]

A. Ruge's insinuations became the keynote of later references to Karl Marx's work as a journalist, made by bourgeois biographers and interpreters of his works. Several researchers, such as K. Vorländer and W. Blumenberg, for instance, not only merely repeated these assertions, but also enlarged on them. Thus, these authors claimed that Marx lacked flexibility, briskness, pertness and willpower, or the necessary connections for work as a journalist. They said that in London he did not maintain contacts with other journalists, limiting himself to a narrow circle of friends and acquaintances. Blumenberg even went as far as to say that Marx engaged in journalism out of need alone, regarding it solely as a source of income, but had no

calling for it. The same version was promoted by B. Nikolayevski and O. Maenchen-Helfen[10]. Other bourgeois researchers, such as R. Pain, attempted to prove that Marx had no journalistic talent. They scoffed at the form and style of his publicistic works, questioned their authenticity and accused Marx of deviating from the historical truth[11]. Still others, such as the Swiss "psychographer" A. Künzli or the aforementioned H. Kümhoff condescendingly admitted that journalism played a big part in Marx's life. However, they averred that it was of a one-sided purely critical, character and that it was imbued with a "feeling of hatred" for everybody.[12] In the overwhelming number of cases bourgeois authors expressed flatly negative, superficial views on Marx's publicistic skill, preferring to avoid a profound and comprehensive analysis of its main distinctive features.

It is the duty of Soviet researchers to expose the malicious concepts. Though it is a pity, no Soviet author until now has written a work examining Marx's publicistic skill. At the same time the works of Soviet scholars on Marx's research methods, form and style of his theoretical works, "Capital" above all, have shown that the study of his publicistic heritage and skill would be very fruitful. Thus, M. I. Nechkina's monograph on the style of "Capital" is of major interest. A. I. Orleanski further examined the same theme. In their articles for newspapers and journals G. N. Volkov, E. Ghenri, V. Y. Ryaby and L. Frizman examined the importance of Marx's publicistic works and certain features of his skill as a writer. In their works L. I. Golman, A. F. Berezhnoi and the present author looked into certain features of Marx's publicistic skill. On the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the birth of Marx a collective of authors – research workers of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee – wrote a biography of Karl Marx, in which they discussed various aspects of his work as a journalist and publicist.[13]

The present book is an attempt to make up for the lack of special literature on Karl Marx's publicistic heritage. The pres-

ent author set himself several tasks. First, to show the sources of Marx's publicistic skill and to reveal how he developed it. Second (this being the main task), to attempt to enter the creative laboratory of the great founder of scientific communism, to disclose the pith of the revolutionary publicist's skill, its distinctiveness, the way in which it differs from the publicistic skill of his predecessors and contemporaries. It was also imperative to examine the importance of Marx's publicism for his scientific work and practical revolutionary activity, to establish the role it played in the complex of creative effort of the brilliant thinker. And, of course, it is vital to reveal the role of the "lessons" in Marx's publicistic skill in the training of communist publicists today.

The author is well aware of how difficult these tasks are. Obviously, it will take many researchers to accomplish them. He, therefore, set himself the aim of dealing with only the main elements and of elucidating only the most characteristic features of Karl Marx's publicistic skill. Thus, the object of research was necessarily limited. The present work examines the specific features, above all of Marx's publicistic works published in newspapers and periodicals. It is only in separate cases that the author looks into Marx's publicistic works written and published as books. He does this in cases, when it is necessary to show how Marx used his publicistic articles which had appeared in newspapers and journals in the writing of scientific, theoretical works.

Every researcher engaged in the study of Karl Marx's theoretical heritage is, naturally, faced with the question of the publicistic value of his scientific works, of the organic fusion of theory and publicistic elements in his works on economics, history and in other scientific works. Though this theme has been partially dealt with in the above works of M. I. Nechkina and other authors, it calls for special study.

The students in Karl Marx's publicistic heritage will inevitably be confronted by additional difficulties. One of these stems from the need to distinguish his work as a publicist from

the entire range of his journalistic activities. This makes it necessary to define journalism and publicism, to establish their connections and relationship. This question has repeatedly given rise to acute polemics between specialists in the theory of journalism. Without going into its essence the present author proposes to proceed from the definitions of journalism and publicism accepted by most researchers today.

We define journalism as social-political activity conducted by journalists – members of a definite profession – to ensure the functioning of mass media and propaganda agencies, such as issue of newspapers, journals and other periodicals, and, in the contemporary period, also of radio and television programmes which keep the mass audience informed on the life of society. Publicism is also a specific sociopolitical activity which uses the printed word, word of mouth or visual images to interpret themes and problems of importance to the majority or major part of the members of society, which contribute to the administration and development of society, and also to effecting progressive changes in social reality. Thus, publicism compiles a most important part of social information which is then conveyed to the mass audience with the help of journalistic means to produce a definite influence on it. Publicism may assume the form of statements in the press, over the television and radio, and also in the form of books and pamphlets.

It is equally difficult to identify in advance the distinguishing features of Karl Marx's publicistic skill among the entire range of features characterising his spiritual creations in general. It should be pointed out that his journalistic and publicistic activities formed only one aspect of his practical work in the sphere of spiritual creativity, designed to transform social reality in the interests of the working people.

Finally, it is impossible to examine Karl Marx's publicistic skill without establishing the character of the creative contacts this brilliant thinker maintained with his great friend and comrade-in-arms Friedrich Engels in the sphere of journalism. It is impossible to accomplish this task without determining the dis-

tinctive creative make-up and place held by each of them in these contacts. It is obvious that the elucidation of this most exciting problem is not the task of the present author.

V. I. Lenin wrote:

"... Marx and Engels are justly named side by side as founders of modern socialism."[14]

And indeed, in our minds the names and works of these two great men are inseparable. Together they elaborated scientific communism and developed, on its basis, the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolutionary movement, the principles of leadership, coalescence and organisation of the proletariat. This joint undertaking of theirs shall be of everlasting significance to any researcher and will constitute his main interest. The joint spiritual life of Marx and Engels which was characterised by intensive work formed the basis for their personal friendship and friendship in the creative sphere, the friendship V. I. Lenin admired so much. He wrote:

"The European proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relationship to each other surpasses the most moving stories of the ancients about human friendship."[15]

The common aim and common tasks Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels set themselves led to uninterrupted cooperation. It manifested itself in constant exchange of ideas, in discussion of these ideas, joint elaboration of solutions to various questions confronting revolutionary-party practice, joint drafting of programme documents and writing of big works. Such fundamental theoretical works as "The Holy Family," "German Ideology" and "The Communist Manifesto" are the result of the efforts of Marx and Engels. Each wrote his chapters which were then combined into a coherent work. In some cases chapters were written in the process of collective thinking of unusual character. Dozens of articles which were printed in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** later appeared in the Collected Works of Marx and Engels as jointly written works. The specific form and style they were written in make it impossible for the re-

searchers positively to state who the concrete author of the given work happened to be. Pursuit of a common task, common process of thinking and common creative means used for the expression of an idea resulted in completely identical form of a publicistic work. No wonder Engels once remarked that he found it practically impossible to distinguish Marx's articles in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** from his own. The fact was that they regularly divided the entire volume of work between themselves.[16]

Constant cooperation of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels also found its expression in mutual influence. It is a fact that contact with Engels and knowledge of his early works prompted Marx seriously to study political economy. Later he worked a revolution in this science. Marx in turn urged Engels to work on some of the most complicated questions of history of science, natural science in particular, from the standpoint of scientific communism. This resulted in the writing of "Anti--Dühring" and several other works. Under Marx's influence Engels started to study problems of military history and military art. Sometimes an idea stated by one of them in a letter to another would cause one of the friends to raise a serious problem which would then be discussed in detail, or to write an article or another work on it.

Finally, creative cooperation of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels manifested themselves in mutual complementation. Engels expressed a very high opinion of the role his great friend played in the development of the fundamentals of scientific communism and of his work in general. With characteristic modesty Engels assigned himself the role of the second fiddle. It should be pointed out, however, that without the support of the other fiddle neither fiddle could play its own part. If one lacked information, materials, literature, and documents, the other would provide what was needed without sparing either effort or time. In the 1840s Marx had a poor knowledge of the English language. Engels who had a splendid command of it would send his friend materials on the class struggle in Eng-

land and on the development of the proletarian revolutionary movement there. As a polyglot Engels (who fluently spoke and read many European languages) actively assisted Marx in the administration of the International Working Men's Association (later named the I International). Marx in turn helped Engels in the writing of several scientific works. For instance, at Engels' request he wrote a chapter for "Anti-Dühring" dealing with questions of political economy. Together they, so to say, formed a splendid di-une creative team of brilliant thinkers, scientists, scholars, great practical revolutionaries and distinguished publicists.

At the same time cooperation of these two great men inevitably led to their mutual division. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were two geniuses, two unique individuals. Each had a character, temperament, inclinations, and tastes which did not always coincide. This manifested itself in personal life and in the sphere of scientific and publicistic activities. The answers of Marx and Engels to a humorours questionnaire which Jenny, Marx's eldest daughter circulated, give a lot of food for thought in this respect. Though the character and lines of answers reveal a striking coincidence, they contain many curious differences.

The founders of Marxism upheld a common stand in relations with their comrades-in-arms by the party and followers. They also expressed a common opinion of their political opponents. Their views did not differ on Lassalle, Schweitzer and Vogt. However, the difference of opinion, for instance, on L. Börne or H. Heine was less known. It took Marx less time to figure out the social stand of L. Börne, prominent German radical publicist of the 1830s. It was largely under Marx's influence that Engels got over his youthful admiration for Börne. Having made his first steps together with Marx in the elaboration of a proletarian world outlook, Engels in the process of his ideological development saw in a different light the role Börne played as a publicist in Germany's public life. Marx and Engels displayed a different attitude to H. Heine, and this is no-

ticeable. In the 1840s Marx and the great German poet H. Heine were friends. Marx knew many of Heine's verses and poems by heart. During that period the two influenced one another. Marx expressed a high opinion of Heine's poetical works. All these facts are generally known and have been thoroughly studied by specialists. It took Engels much more time to comprehend and assimilate Heine's poetic and publicistic experience. Initially he exhibited a semi-sceptical attitude towards the great poet. However, later he came to recognise the role of Heine's political lyric poetry and publicistic works in the public life of Germany.

The distinction between Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the sphere of creative work was even more noticeable. It manifested itself in scientific research and publicistic activity. Engels recalled that after 1862 there was a division of labour between himself and Marx. Engels represented their views in the periodical press and engaged in theoretical polemics. He fought their ideological opponents. At the same time Marx concentrated his efforts on scientific work–on the elaboration of a proletarian theory of political economy, on the writing of "Capital".[17]

This line of demarcation existed in the sphere of journalism too. Karl Marx was far more active as a leader, organiser, and editor of periodical publications, particularly before 1859. During that period Friedrich Engels assisted him in the administration of the newspapers and journals. He was Marx's actual deputy. But he surpassed Marx in publicism and in intensity of work. He wrote articles, reports, reviews and other works on a wide range of topics with unusual facility. The different themes they handled, the specific character of the themes they wrote on, and the distinctions between the publicistic skill of Marx and Engels will also be discussed in the present book.

It should be mentioned that bourgeois Marxologists draw special attention to the specifics of Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engels' characters. At the same time they try to gloss over the main things they shared, the things that bound them, that deter-

mined their relations, joint work and friendship. Thus, R. Pain describes the friendship of Marx and Engels as a "marriage of opposites." R. Pain maligns Engels by creating an unattractive image of a cold and reserved rich businessman who, he claims, was bound with Marx by a common desire to establish a personal dictatorship over the world.[18] R. Pain and others like him maliciously distort the truth in an attempt to prove that in his scientific works and practical revolutionary activity Engels "deviated" from Marx and from "genuine" Marxism.

In studying the features of Karl Marx's publicistic works and skill we shall not overlook these tactics of bourgeois ideologists. We shall simultaneously point to the main things which the great founders of scientific communism shared and which bound them.

In the course of the study the author made use of a long list of literature. It, naturally, included above all Karl Marx's publicistic heritage. Many of the great thinker's works, his correspondence and autobiographical materials contain statements on the aims, tasks and role of journalistic and publicistic creative work. He formulated the criteria for the appraisal of a proletarian publicist's skill. These ideas are of great importance. The autor further studied the reminiscences of Marx, written by his relatives, friends, disciples and comrades-in-arms who gave vivid facts and details connected with his publicistic work.

V. I. Lenin's works on Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels giving characteristics of some of their theoretical and publicistic works were of great methodological importance to the author.

The author found it very useful to study the vast literature on Karl Marx, on how he worked on "Capital" and other theoretical works, in particular the studies conducted by the research staff of the Sector of K. Marx's and F. Engels' Works, Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee. Knowledge of the works by Soviet students in Marx studies engaged in the examination the system of views adv-

anced by the founders of Marxism on literature and art. This also applies to publications written by researchers specialising in the history, theory and practice of journalism and publicism.

The author used the problem method of research, i.e. he dealt consecutively with the problems and aspects of his theme. This enabled him to switch over from the discussion of the more general questions and aspects to the more specific ones. The problem method also conditioned the composition of the book, the character and arrangement of its chapters.

One more remark. The author regards this book as a final phase in the study of the role Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels played in the development of proletarian, communist journalism and publicism and of the theory thereof. He conducted this study over the last few years. Therefore, in some cases he considers it possible to use the results of earlier researches and to make reference to works he published before the present book.[19]

Chapter I

The sources of proletarian publicism

1. "For work in the name of humanity."

Karl Marx was associated with the periodical press practically all his life. In the days of his youth, when he was a student of Bonn and then of Berlin University he wanted to find a purpose he could devote his abilities and efforts to. In this search he frequently switched over from one field of theoretical knowledge to another. Studies in jurisprudence cased him to know the fundamentals of philosophy. Without it it would have been difficult to determine his attitude to reality. Studies in Hegel's philosophy in turn kindled in Marx a desire to exercise a practical influence on the world. This meant he would have to switch over to practical activity. The most acceptable and, perhaps, the only possible form of such activity for Marx was publicism at the time.

Owing to the specific character of Germany's historical development literature and publicism played a specific role, because the rule of reaction deprived the progressive, democratic elements of all other forms of self-expression. Later, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels explained in "The German Ideology" the circumstances which conditioned the development of German literature and publicism during that period. They wrote:

"The lack of any **real**, passionate, practical party conflict in Germany meant that even the social movement was at first **merely** a literary one."[1]

In the conditions which had taken shape in the country the role of a writer and publicist who expressed in concealed form or more openly public opinion and revealed the tendencies in development quickly gained importance. Thus, literature and publicism gave a bourgeois intellectual a unique possibility to

engage in political public life. They were the only channel through which German society could exchange advanced ideas.

Casting his eyes upon publicism Karl Marx unmistakably chose a profession which, at the time, opened to him "the broadest field for work in the name of humanity . . ."[2] Already his first publications showed that he had formed definite ideas about the role and tasks of publicism in German society. Karl Marx made a start with two articles: "Notes on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instructions" written in the middle of January-beginning of February 1842 (owing to censorship it was printed in Switzerland as late as 1843), and "Debates on the Freedom of the Press and on the Publication of the Minutes of the Estates' Meeting" written in April 1842 and printed in May of the same year. With the publication of the second article he started to work for the **Rheinische Zeitung** whose editor he became at the age of 24. Over a period of several decades Marx accumulated a wealth of experience in the administration of newspapers and journals, organisation of the issue and distribution of periodicals and, of course, in writing of topical publicistic articles. He indeed had mastered the secrets of the journalistic and publicistic professions. He was a superb administrator of a creative team of journalists, a master editor of a periodical publication. More than that, he raised these skills to the level of political, party art.

Karl Marx worked as a journalist over a period of several decades. During these years he became not only a great scholar and scientist who discovered the materialistic understanding of history and who developed a new, proletarian theory of political economy, who produced the theory of scientific communism, not only a great revolutionary, leader of the international proletariat, leader of the working class movement, but also a distinguished publicist. Together with Friedrich Engels he turned journalism, the periodical press into an instrument of struggle for the class interests of the proletariat, into an instrument for the advancement of a new world outlook, for political

education and organisation of the masses of workers. In the process of creative work Marx developed a new type of publicism which served to promote the interests of historical progress.

Karl Marx, obviously, did not climb the peaks of publicistic skill overnight. Gradually, through persistent practice in journalism he accumulated tremendous experience which enabled him to make an invaluable contribution to the history of proletarian publicism and to produce works of consummate mastery. Therefore, by establishing the main phases in Marx's journalistic and publicistic work we shall help understand the process of formation of the main features characterising his publicistic skill.

The working class movement in Europe being subdivided into three main stages in the 19th century (up to the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of 1848, from 1848 to the Paris Commune and from 1871 to 1895–the period following the Paris Commune), this determines in the main the periodisation of Karl Marx's journalistic activity. However, the development of revolutionary political-party practice in a specific field, such as journalism, is characterised by features, by a logic of its own which may ultimately be reduced to the logic of the objective revolutionary process and class struggle. Proceeding from this, the author has divided Marx's journalistic and publicistic activity into five principal stages.

The first stage from 1842 to 1844 covers the period when Karl Marx's world outlook took shape, when he went over from idealism to materialism and from revolutionary democracy to communism. In journalism this stage begins with Marx's first publications in **Rheinische Zeitung** and ends with his work in the **Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher.** This period is characterised by Marx's struggle in the press for basic democratic freedoms, above all for the freedom of the press, for the transformation of the press into an effective weapon of revolutionary democracy. The logic of struggle in journalism caused Marx to understand the need for a serious study of socio-eco-

nomic problems and of "material interests." He came to realise that the periodical press was an important tool for combining revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice, an instrument for remaking reality. It was during these years that Marx developed the essential elements of his publicistic skill, the main features and specifics characterising his creative work, established the guidelines and themes of his publications, found the most effective arguments in support of his theses, and worked out his unique style. In a short time Marx became one of the best-known and influential German publicists. He printed numerous articles and cycles of publicistic materials. He analysed the most complicated problems of public life with unprecedented depth and scope.

The second stage from 1845 to 1850 was a period when the theory of Marxism was developed. In their works Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels formulated the fundamental propositions of historical materialism and the theory of class struggle. "The Poverty of Philosophy" and particularly the "Communist Manifesto"– the "first works of mature Marxism"[3] were a comprehensive, systematic presentation of the new doctrine. At the same time Marxist theory stood the practical test in the flames of European revolutions in 1848–1849. This stage was characterised by the fact that Karl Marx created a new, working class press and proletarian publicism. For the first time in the history of journalism periodical publications upholding proletarian class positions started to come out. In 1847 Marx transformed the **Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung** into a mouthpiece of the League of Communists. The crowning achievement of his journalistic work at this stage was the publication of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung.** This stage closed with the publication in London of the journal **Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.** This publication (the last of those Marx and Engels jointly edited) was closely connected with the period of the 1848–1849 revolution in Germany. It was undertaken not only with the purpose of studying its lessons, but also with the aim of preparing the masses for new revolutionary action. The

proletarian leaders were still hoping then for another revolutionary upsurge. It was only later experience that showed them the futility of such expectations.

The second stage occupies a special, a key place in the biography of Marx, the publicist. It was precisely then that his outstanding talent of publicist revealed in full degree all of its potentialities and features. He wrote and published hundreds of articles, lampoons, critiques, and reviews. Most of these entered the golden fund of communist journalism for all times.

The third stage from 1850 to 1863 was a period, when the results of the revolution were summed up, when its lessons were comprehended. It was a time of promotion of ideas of scientific communism, preparation for the founding of a proletarian party, persistent scientific research effort and development of a new economic theory. This was also a period of Karl Marx's intensive work for newspapers and journals. He sought to rebuild the proletarian press which had been smashed by the reactionaries and again to turn it into an instrument for political education of the working masses. Marx contributed to the Chartist press, gave support to any initiative aimed at the organisation of working class publications, such as the journal **Die Revolution** (1852) in the USA, the newspaper **Die Reform** (1852–1854) of the American Working Men's Association the German immigrants founded in New York. In 1859 he tried to start the issue in London of the newspaper **Das Volk** to turn it into a proletarian revolutionary organ.

When the reaction was in full swing and the working class press was weak Karl Marx worked out tactics for using the bourgeois press in the interests of the proletariat. Working for the **New York Daily Tribune** for ten years (1851–1862) and publishing articles in the bourgeois Prussian paper **Neue Oder-Zeitung** (1855) and in the Vienna liberal paper **Die Presse** (1861–1862) Marx displayed specimens of tactical flexibility.

During these years Karl Marx produced a series of polemical and theoretical-publicistic works, such as the "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", "Herr Vogt" and a few

others, making a sizable contribution to the history of proletarian revolutionary publicism. His publications were organically connected with scientific research. In his case publicism and research mutually penetrated one another.

The fourth stage of Karl Marx's publicistic activity covered the period from 1864 to 1871. It began with the founding of the first proletarian international mass organisation–the I International and ended with the fall of the Paris Commune. This was a period of further work on the theory of scientific communism and its dissemination, and rallying of the workers under the banner of proletarian internationalism. Karl Marx concentrated his main attention on guidance of the International, on the struggle against its opponents and also on the writing of "Capital" whose first volume appeared in 1867. At the same time he wanted to create an international proletarian press on the basis of the local national press. Marx attached great importance to supporting and strengthening the press of the International. He participated in the administration of its press organs–the weekly **Bee-Hive Newspaper,** the newspapers **The Workman's Advocate** and the **Commonwealth.** He supported the newly-founded proletarian periodicals in France, Italy and other countries with materials and advice. He sought to exercise ideological influence on the working class press which advocated petty-bourgeois socialist views or the views of revolutionary democracy. During these years Marx used the periodical press as an effective weapon to fight his ideological opponents–the supporters of Lassalle, Bakunin and Proudhon. At the same time he rendered all possible support to proletarian revolutionaries and the heroes of the Paris Commune. He defended them against bourgeois slander. Together with Engels he upheld the ideas of party principles governing the workers' press and proletarian internationalism.

The final fifth stage of Karl Marx's journalistic activity covers the period from 1871 to 1883. The I International had played its historical role. An epoch of the rapid growth of the working class movement set in in all countries. It was a period

in which the movement grew in **scope,** and **mass** socialist working-class parties in individual national states were formed."[4] During these years Marx was noticeably less active in publicism. He devoted all of his time and strength to work on the completion of "Capital". But at the same time Marx of necessity produced articles and notes which appeared in the working class and socialist press in various countries. He helped it with advice and criticism of its errors. In the late 1870s Marx and Engels waged a vigorous struggle against the opportunists in the German social-democratic press. This struggle was of tremendous importance to the defence and establishment of a class and party character of the international working class press.

Each of the above stages in Karl Marx's journalistic activity marked a further grade in the accumulation of publicistic experience, in comprehension of this experience, in the development of new features and specifics of his publicistic skill, and of views on the role of works produced by proletarian publicists. At each consecutive stage Marx made progress as a publicist, producing works which in whole formed the great wealth of his publicistic heritage. His works exercised an indelible influence on the subsequent development of proletarian, communist publicism in all countries.

2. Assimilating and Developing Past Experience

Karl Marx's personal experience in journalism, his managerial jobs in newspapers and journals, and possibilities to write for them exercising timely influence on the course of public developments were important, though not the only, circumstances that helped form his publicistic skill. Another circumstance which contributed to this was that Marx assimilated and made use of experience acquired by master writers and publicists of the past. Knowledge of literature and journalistic works produced in past epochs, of the vast and varied ex-

perience of distinguished writers who lived and worked during the preceding centuries, the comprehension and practical use of this experience enabled Marx effectively to combine new methods and techniques in creative perception and reflection of social reality he himself developed and introduced in journalistic practice with the best achievements secured by the great masters of literature and publicism in various countries before him.

Combining innovation with the best traditions of the past was a vivid feature of Karl Marx's publicistic creative work. Another feature was the effort to assimilate the achievements of his contemporaries–the most gifted revolutionary democratic publicists of the 1840s–1860s. The third feature of Marx's publicistic works was an organic alloy of national and international elements and progressive publicistic tradition.

Karl Marx's excellent knowledge of literature (belles-lettres), beyond doubt, played a tremendous role in moulding the cardinal features characterising his publicistic skill. When he was a child, Karl Marx's father acquainted him with the works of Voltaire, Racine, Schiller and Lessing. In the home of his father's friend Ludwig von Westphalen young Karl was influenced by the atmosphere of admiration for Homer and Shakespeare. The brilliant English playwright, side by side with Aeschylus, always represented the peak of dramatic art. Marx read and re-read their works in the original. He was of an equally high opinion of Goethe and Heine whose works he knew by heart. He frequently quoted them by memory. The great Italian Dante and the Scotsman Burns were among his favourite poets. He was well versed in the works of the outstanding novelists Henry Fielding and Walter Scott. Marx frequently expressed his admiration for the novels of Cervantes and Balzac. He had a particularly high opinion of the latter. Upon completion of "Capital" Marx intended to write a study on Balzac's biggest work "Comedie Humaine". Marx spoke with respect about the works of Diderot. He said the latter was one of his favourite prose writers. In the late 1860s-early 1870s Marx learnt the

Russian language. This enabled him to enjoy the Russian writers and poets Pushkin, Gogol, and Saltykov-Shchedrin.

The beginning and rise of Karl Marx's publicistic work coincided with the period when the most outstanding European writers and democratic public leaders actively contributed to the press, when the European public was fascinated by articles written by H. Heine, V. Hugo and P. J. Proudhon, and also by E. Zola's early critical reviews. It was then that A. I. Herzen, N. G. Chernyshevski and N. A. Dobrolyubov produced their publicistic works signifying a whole epoch in Russian revolutionary democratic publicism. Marx was abreast of the works of his contemporaries. He gave them an objective appraisal stating their strong points and weaknesses. He expressed a high opinion of the publicistic works written by Russian revolutionary thinkers. He displayed profound respect for N. G. Chernyshevski characterising him as a great Russian scholar and critic.[5] Marx referred to his articles as splendid works and pointed to the big role they played in the development of Russian revolutionary publicism.[6] He expressed an equally high opinion of the works of N. A. Dobrolyubov. Marx read the publicistic works that came out in all the big European countries–France, England and above all Germany, of course.

Karl Marx had a thorough knowledge of the history of the German people, history of Germany. Knowledge of the laws governing social development and the historical process enabled Marx to get a correct understanding of the importance of every fact and event in German history and to appraise them. Very few could challenge him in the knowledge of German literature–not only of the works of contemporary writers and of such giants as Goethe and Schiller, but also of folklore, the medieval minstrels and even of the smaller writers of the 16th and 17th centuries whose names were known only to students in the history of literature.

Karl Marx's erudition in the history of German publicism was extraordinary. He paid attention to the more or less significant works of well-known publicists in the history of Germany,

including, of course, the contributions of the political and religious leaders of the Reformation–from M. Luther, M. Reichlin, F. Melanchton, Erasmus of Rotterdam to U. von Gutten and T. Münzer–"prophet of the revolution".

The period of Reformation, when, as Friedrich Engels put it, "Germany produced characters that could match the best men in the revolutions of other countries",[7] was of special interest to the founders of Marxism. They studied that epoch, the years of the Peasant War in Germany, to find the sources of the German people's revolutionary traditions, to find the heroes whose names had been preserved in the memory of the people over a period of several centuries. An important source which enabled Karl Marx to restore the atmosphere of that period was publicistic work–lampoons, letters, appeals, sermons and calls issued by the leaders and inspirers of the revolutionary peasants, burghers, supporters of the gentry and the princes. In the scientific works, articles and correspondence of Marx and Engels we frequently find characteristics of historical personalities of the Reformation, their activities and publicistic works, references to their speeches, quotations and images. This refers above all to the three biggest leaders of the Reformation – M. Luther, T. Münzer and U. von Gutten.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels made an objective appraisal of Martin Luther as one of the initiators of the German Reformation. But they also showed how he betrayed the peasants, who had rebelled, by going over to the side of the princes. Karl Marx's objective view of Martin Luther's historic role did not prevent him from expressing a high opinion of the latter's publicistic works, thunderous sermons against the Catholic Church and the Catholic clergy, and his calls for Christian freedom. Marx had a thorough knowledge of Luther's lampoons and speeches. He repeatedly quoted in his letters Luther's works – "On Trade and Usury", "Speeches at the Table" and other writings.[8] In his publicistic works devoted to concrete political situations in 19th century Germany Karl Marx readily made use of Luther's vivid images and his powerful and expressive

characteristics. What particularly attracted Marx was sparkling aphoristic style of Luther's publicistic works.

Thomas Münzer was of even greater interest to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Thomas Münzer was the most magnificent figure of the Peasant War in Germany.[9] Marx praised his passionate publicistic works, the militant revolutionary tone of his lampoons. In his theoretical work "On the Jewish Question" Marx analysed the role of money in bourgeois society, quoting from one of Münzer's lampoons against Luther.[10] And this was not in the least surprising.

Münzer's publicistic works appealed to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels because they were so pointed–because they frankly defended the interests of the masses of people, because they carried a call to use force in liberation from oppression and to abolish the feudal system. Finally, they appealed to Marx and Engels by their force of conviction, revolutionary passion, bubbling energy, internal power which revealed themselves in form and style. The founders of Marxism saw in Thomas Münzer's publicistic works a bright example of how the spoken word and printed word influenced the masses and how they helped mobilise the people for revolutionary struggle.

The very same features, namely militant character, passion, energy and inner force, of U. von Gutten's publicistic works impressed Karl Marx. In his letter to F. Lassale in 1859 about his play "Franz von Sickingen" Marx gave an accurate and objective characteristic of U. von Gutten's place in the history of Germany. He showed the tragic collision von Gutten had been caught in, his doom as a theorist of the German gentry–a class history had passed its sentence on. Despite this the founders of Marxism paid tribute to U. von Gutten's publicistic works–his lampoons and dialogues, "Letters to Ignorant People." This was one of the most outstanding publicistic works of the Reformation. U. von Gutten had taken an active part in writing it. Marx and Engels paid him his due for his subtle style. Writing about U. von Gutten Marx described him as "... a smart and devilishly witty man ..."[11] Marx condemned

Lassalle's historically unobjective approach to the character of U. von Gutten. As far as Marx was concerned he always regarded intellect and wit as indisputable merits in a publicist, even if he was a member of a reactionary class.

The publicistic works of the Reformation, beyond doubt, left a trace on Karl Marx's works. Its best features were a militant, offensive spirit, passion, lofty pathetic feeling, volcanic internal force, healthy humour of the people, folk forms and style. The great proletarian thinker and publicist assimilated these features, "processed" them for use in his own works. Bypassing the period of the Thirty Years' War and domination of classicism which won no laurels for German literature Marx and Engels directly linked the publicistic works of the Reformation with the literary and publicistic works of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing.

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was the first great German writer, critic and publicist of the 18th century. A fighter against Prussian absolutism, who proclaimed the ideals of freedom and humanism, Lessing exercised a most powerful influence on German literature and publicistic works. N. G. Chernyshevski, who produced a most profound research work on Lessing's literary heritage, called him the "father of modern German literature". It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of Lessing's works on the subsequent generations of German writers and publicists. They also left an imprint on Karl Marx's journalistic activities.

Karl Marx regarded Lessing and his life as a criterion for the appraisal of the role played by public and political leaders and writers not only in Germany, but also in other countries. When Marx wanted to pay tribute to somebody's deserts, he, just like Engels, compared him with Lessing. Referring to Dobrolyubov in a letter to N. F. Danielson in 1871 Karl Marx wrote:

"I am acquainted with Erlieb's work in part." (Marx translated Dobrolyubov's name into German as Erlieb.) "As a writer I place him on the same level with Lessing and Diderot."[13]

In the days of his youth the future leader of the international proletariat carefully studied Lessing's works. This led him to the conclusion that the great German writer and critic played a revolutionary role in the history of literature and publicism. And indeed Lessing was a most outstanding German publicist in his day. Every consecutive stage in his journalistic work was a step forward in the development of German publicism. He played a big role in the moulding of newspaper-journal genres, above all reviews of books and plays, and also topical satires. Lessing's crowning achievement in publicism was the **Hamburg Drama,** a journal which he put out in 1767–1769. In it he advanced the idea of setting up a German national theatre in Hamburg. In the **Hamburg Drama** he enhanced the significance of theatrical criticism to an unprecedented level. An indisputable merit of Lessing was the "politicisation" of literary journals in Germany. He was one of the first to link up the discussion of literary matters and theatrical art with problems of social life. He started open discussion of politics in the press.

Lessings publicistic works were distinguished for their militantly offensive spirit and acute polemical character. He was ruthless in fighting spiritual reactionaries, bigots, supporters of absolutism and literary grovellers. His irony was scathing. Lessing's polemics with the reactionary pastor Goeze, his "Anti-Goeze" lampoons in which he branded the obscurantists, defending the freedom of reason, evoked a response throughout the whole of Germany.

Lessing was not dead history to Karl Marx. He was a living contemporary and a comrade-in-arms in the fight against obscurantism and reaction. Young Marx would frequently look up Lessing's publicistic works when he had to uphold the ideals of revolutionary democracy. In an early article entitled "Banning of the **Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung**" he defended the freedom of speech and democratic press. In this article he called for support on the part of Lessing's prestige comparing his ideological opponents with pastor Goeze. Marx replied to

them "together with Lessing," quoting a caustic remark from Lessing's lampoon against Goeze.[14]

The traditions of Lessing's progressive publicistic works were taken up and continued by a number of German journalists who lived and worked in the latter half of the 18th century. With increasing frankness they expressed the views and demands of the rising bourgeoisie. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were well acquainted with the names of K. Wieland, C. Schubart, L. Werkelen and H. Forster, as well as a few other well-known revolutionary German journalists of the late 18th century. The publicistic works of Forster and his companions-in-arms appealed to Marx with their revolutionary spirit.

Karl Marx, apparently, had an adequate idea about the work of Josef Goerres, eminent German publicist of the early 19th century. Ecstatically welcoming the French revolution and promoting its slogans in his journals Josef Goerres became disillusioned in it when Napoleon came to power. After that he was engaged in the study of philology and the history of literature to write a series of researches on German folk songs. During the period of so-called "liberation wars" against Napoleon he founded the **Rheinischer Merkur** which soon became the most widely read and influential printed organ in Germany. Goerres' publicistic talent developed in full bloom here. He expressed the views of the progressive circles of the German bourgeoisie. He issued appeals calling for the national resurgence of Germany, for its unification, for development of trade and industries.

Goerres' activities exercised a powerful influence on German journalism in the first quarter of the 19th century. However, Karl Marx only once expressed a favourable opinion of a statement Goerres made about a Prussian "Christian state". He never referred to his publicistic work during the period of the French revolution and the struggle against Napoleon. This silence was, perhaps, due to Marx's sceptical attitude towards the period of the "liberation wars" which were praised and lauded by the Prussian historians and the semi-official press.

Despite this, there are reasons to believe that Goerres' publicistic experience was known to Karl Marx. This was reflected in the use by Marx of some of Goerres' publicistic methods and forms of works, such as the publication of editorial articles continued in several subsequent issues. It was Goerres who introduced this form to produce a more powerful impact with the materials he published. This form of publication of editorials became a long standing tradition in the German periodical press after Goerres.

Goerres could have appealed to Karl Marx with his typical desire to establish close contact with the reader. To this end he tried to use the form of conversation in his publications which, he hoped, would be read aloud. The search of forms for publicistic works to promote their influence on the masses was quite in line with Marx's desires.

Knowledge of the publicistic works written by authors belonging to the "Young Germany" group, particularly those produced by Karl Guzkow, one of its leaders, could have contributed to the publicistic experience of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. This group took shape in the late 1830s. It reflected the oppositional sentiments of the German petty bourgeoisie. But the works of Ludwig Börne, prominent German publicist of the 1830s, beyond doubt played an incomparably bigger role in shaping some of the features characteristic of Marx's and Engels' publicistic works.

Ludwig Börne's journalistic works marked a new step forward in the development of the German press. In the journals he published in his native Frankfurt and later in Paris Börne carried on Lessing's traditions to raise to an unusually high level the genres of the theatrical review and topical satire. He was one of the originators of the political satire as a genre in itself. He successfully used the form of letters for discussion, in the press, of outstanding socio-political issues. He made a sizable contribution to the polemical arsenal of German publicism, its forms and style.

In the 1830s Börne became a ruler of men's minds among

the German democrats, petty-bourgeois youth in particular. Hundreds of German students who dreamed of following the footsteps of Schiller's heroes to fight the tyrants would repeat Börne's words which became a political aphorism: "Freedom continues to live even in the grave and to grow till it erupts from the coffin. The gravediggers should take note of this."[15]

As a spokesman of petty-bourgeois democratic radicalism Börne inspiringly preached the ideas of republicanism and free thinking. He urged the people to rebel against the German monarchs and to reunite Germany. His "Paris Letters" written after the July 1830 revolution in France showed the wretchedness of German reality, they ridiculed lack of political rights, persecution of democratic ideas and of the press in Prussia and other German states. Börne wrote "Menzel, Baiter of the French"–a lampoon against Menzel, reactionary publicist, chauvinist and Teutonomaniac who hounded progressive German writers and publicists. This lampoon was a scorching satire on the entire socio-political system of Germany, which deprived the people of rights and oppressed them.

Over a period of several years Börne's publicistic works exercised a major influence on the ideological development of young Engels. Till the early 1840s Friedrich Engels regarded Börne as a model forward-minded publicist, a progressive thinker whom he ranked on a par with Hegel. But it was not only Engels whom Börne influenced. Marx too felt his influence to a certain degree.

Börne was the first to bring forth the idea about founding a periodical to promote understanding and exchange of thoughts between German and French democrats. He even attempted to start such a printed organ. In 1836 he founded in Paris the journal **La Balance. Revue allemande et francaise publiée par L. Börne.** But he was able to put out only three issues. Later, in 1843, this idea was revived by Marx and Ruge who decided to publish in Paris the **Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher** "aimed at bringing such an (Franco-German scientific) alliance into being".[16]

There are many features in common in the publicistic works of young Karl Marx and Ludwig Börne. But not in its trend and content, of course. The similarity may be found in the specific forms, in the use of alike images and similes and in the use of certain stylistic methods. For instance, papers have known to be compared to public opinion paper money which Marx used with great skill in his work "The Class Struggle in France, 1848–1850". In it he exposed the reprisals of the French government against the progressive press[17]. Way back in 1818 Börne first made this comparison.[18]

The use of similar similes by the two publicists who produced works in different historical periods cannot be merely due to accidental coincidence. However, it can be easily understood, if one will recall that Karl Marx was familiar in the years of his youth with the publicistic works of Ludwig Börne. Of course, this does not mean that Marx imitated Börne. But Börne's publicistic works left a deep imprint in German journalism of the 1830s–1840s. And, naturally, the best of Börne's experience was ultimaty taken over by Marx who assimilated it creatively and adapted it to his own needs. It should be borne in mind that many of the elements and features characterising Börne's militant publicistic works met the requirements of advanced democratic and to an even greater degree the requirements of proletarian publicism on the eve of the 1848–1849 revolution and also during the revolution, when Karl Marx's publicistic talent came into full bloom.

3. In the Forefront of German Journalism

Karl Marx assimilated and critically studied the creative heritage of prominent German publicists of preceding decades and centuries, because their works helped form the national tradition in his own publicistic writings. Another source of experience were creative contacts with his contemporaries–eminent German writers and publicists who contributed to the press of Prussia and other German states, as well as to that of

other countries. Karl Marx was well acquainted with most of them, because he met them in Berlin, Cologne and Paris and because he wrote for the same periodical publications. Some of them were members of the "Doctors' Club"–young Hegelian society–scholars, writers, gymnasium teachers who met at a Berlin café to discuss religion, literature, politics. Among them were, for instance, A. Rutenberg, teacher of geography, K. F. Koeppen, teacher of history, and E. Meyen writer. The "spiritual head" of the "Doctors' Club" was Bruno Bauer, assistant professor of theology at Bonn University. During his stay in Berlin in 1838–1839 Karl Marx joined this society soon to become one of its leaders.

In 1841–1842 several members of the "Doctors' Club" formed a group of so-called "free thinkers" who sought to draw radical conclusions from the philosophy of their teacher. They voiced the views of the radical German bourgeoisie, they denounced all authorities and conventions and soon went over from the criticism of religion to the criticism of Prussian absolutism. Finally, they brought this criticism to sheer negation depriving it of all concrete content. Many of these young petty bourgeois intellectuals actively worked for the press.

When Karl Marx became editor of the **Rheinische Zeitung** in October 1842, Meyen and other "free thinkers" began to flood the editorial office with articles packed with bombastic phrasemongery about atheism and communism and pompous declamations. However, Marx decided against publishing them. And when Meyen sent him an impudent letter, accusing him of conservatism, Marx broke off with the "free thinkers." This meant that he dissociated himself from the Young Hegelians.

Meeting Bruno Bauer and Karl Koeppen was of major importance to Karl Marx. They were ten years his senior, they had already earned a reputation of experienced writers. In the beginning the two exerted a considerable influence on the formation of Marx's views, as future founder of Marxism.

Bruno Bauer won fame above all for his criticism of the

Gospel. He voiced the demand for release from the dogmata of Christian religion. His critical publications impressed Karl Marx. Having moved to Bonn in 1841 he made friends with Bauer. Both worked on plans for the foundation of a journal to be called the **Archives of Atheism.** But this intention was never realised, because Bauer's anti-religious activities aroused mounting anger on the part of theologians and of the Prussian government. Ultimately, the latter discharged Bauer from the university in the end of 1841. Shortly before this Bauer published an atheistic pamphlet entitled "The Blare of the Last Judgement on Hegel, Atheist and Anti-Christ. An Ultimatum". Marx had helped Bauer write it. However, their intention to write a continuation was never realised, because Marx's interests were now in the sphere of politics, and not in the sphere of religion or aesthetics. That marked the end of their joint work. They ceased to maintain contact altogether after Marx broke off with the "free thinkers". Bauer took their side.

Karl Friedrich Koeppen played a big role in the development of Karl Marx's publicistic skill. Teaching at a school in Berlin, he was known for his researches in history and literary criticism. The articles he contributed to A. Ruge's **Hallische Jahrbücher** and the **Rheinische Zeitung** showed the author's erudition and original approach to the theme. This attracted the readers' attention.

When Karl Marx attended Berlin University Karl Koeppen was among his closest friends. It was not fortuitous that Koeppen dedicated to Marx the lampoon on Friedrich II. – one of his most significant publicistic works. In the dedication he wrote: "To my friend Karl Heinrich Marx from Trier". Marx in turn mentioned this work of his friend in the preface to his doctor's thesis.[19] The opinion was a favourable one. Though Koeppen was much older than Marx, he was soon compelled to recognise his unusual talent and spiritual superiority.

Karl Marx exercised an influence on Koeppen, which is evident in the latter's historical works. Soviet researchers have

already shown that Koeppen's "Berlin Historians"–one of his best known works in which he sharply criticised reactionary German historians–indirectly reflected the views of young Marx on contemporary German historiography[20]. But Koeppen too influenced young Marx. He was not only an eminent historian, but also a gifted writer who "confidently grouped facts and exhibited the ability to give a plastic representation of events".[21] His works were distinguished for their vigorous style, skillful use of vivid images and scathing epigrams. Koeppen was a gifted portraitist. In few words he could give an expressive portrait of a man. F. Mehring wrote that Marx had taken over from Koeppen many literary methods[22]. This statement is not unfounded. Suffice to read Koeppen's pamphlet "Friedrich the Great and his Enemies" to see that this is really so.

The pamphlet appeared in 1840, when Friedrich-Wilhelm III, King of Prussia, died and Friedrich Wilhelm IV, his heir, ascended the throne. The country had expected liberal reforms. Koeppen wrote his pamphlet in the form of a peculiar kind of eulogy to Friedrich II, presenting him as an advocate of enlightenment, a "philosopher on the throne". The author set forth this viewpoint, though it was highly doubtful from the standpoint of history, to oppose Friedrich II–a tolerant sceptic and defender of free thought–to contemporary reactionaries and obscurantists who were doing their utmost to dim the memory of the enlightened monarch. In actual fact singing such praises to Friedrich II was a form of concealed criticism of the contemporary Prussian monarchy and its regime. This keynote was quickly sensed by the contemporary readers–both by the reactionaries who closed ranks fiercely to attack the author and the Young Hegelians who staunchly came out in his defence. Marx gave his wholehearted approval to it. This is evidenced by the opinion he gave of Koeppen in the preface to his doctor's thesis.

Indeed, certain elements of style typical of Koeppen's work are reminiscent of certain features characterising the style of Marx's publicistic works. In Koeppen's work you will find

in rudimentary form many elements which acquired full development in Marx's publicistic works. For instance, take the marked antithetic character of style, the trend towards "building up" characteristics which are crowned with a final sentence like a finale, long chain of epithets intensifying the general characteristic, use of numerous negations crowned with a final conclusion[23]. Karl Marx, indeed, creatively assimilated the publicistic experience of his friend, enriched and advanced the more effective aspects of his skill.

To some degree contacts and exchanges with A. Ruge helped enrich Karl Marx's journalistic experience.

A. Ruge, prominent German bourgeois radical in the 1840s, assistant professor of Halle University, did not uphold revolutionary views or display bold thinking. On the contrary, he was cautious and calculating in politics. However, his critical "scent" and enterprising character enabled him quickly to find his bearings in any situation. His knowledge in many fields, though not deep, made it possible for him to secure success in journalism. During that period his work left a noticeable imprint in the development of the radical and revolutionary-democratic press in Germany. In 1838 he founded together with T. Echtermeyer a journal called the **Hallische Jahrbücher für Deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst** (the Halle Yearbooks for German Science and Arts). Young Hegelians began to group around it. And Ruge was soon drawn into the political struggle.

Having refused to submit to the decision of the Prussian government about moving the journal to Prussia to place it under censorship, Ruge moved to Dresden, Saxony. Here he continued to put out the journal under a new name **Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst.** Under him the journal was turned into a revolutionary democratic organ. However, yielding to pressure from the Prussian government, the authorities in Saxony suppressed the publication in 1843. And the German Bundesrat banned its distribution throughout the country.

In the beginning Karl Marx voiced a positive opinion of

A. Ruge's journalistic and publicistic activities. It should be mentioned that Ruge vigorously supported Marx's early publicistic works in the **Rheinische Zeitung.** He welcomed the advent of a new distinguished talent in German journalism. He pointed to the unusually deep and keen critical analysis in the works of the young publicist.

At the time Karl Marx actively corresponded with A. Ruge. They jointly worked out a plan for publication in Paris of the **Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher,** which they later realised. After the first double issue came out it proved impossible to publish the journal owing to the difficulties of its distribution in Germany. However, the main reason was the fundamental differences between the co-editors. Marx's new, communist, convictions were in irreconcilable contradiction with Ruge's bourgeois radicalism.

Later Karl Marx was forced repeatedly to come out against A. Ruge who became a rabid opponent of communism and the revolutionary proletariat. In his publicistic works and correspondence Marx branded this "Swiss guard of German philosophy"[24] who had become a bankrupt politician, a vain and shallow plotter.

Heinrich Heine occupied a special place among Karl Marx's predecessors and contemporaries in the field of publicism. His place was special on account of the role he played in the development of progressive German journalism and in the moulding of Marx's literary and publicistic talent. The great German poet was, beyond doubt, a most distinguished publicist of the 1830s–1840s. This was not only due to his sparkling talent. His socio-political views were equally important. When in Paris Heinrich Heine met French socialists. Under their influence Heinrich Heine's views more and more openly veered towards utopian socialism. They acquired a Saint Simonian hue. Later he managed to overcome some of the aspects of utopian socialism, its limited character in particular, to arrive at understanding of the proletariat's historical mission. Heine was, beyond doubt, an incomparably deeper and perspicacious

ideologue than Börne, for instance. He already saw the social sources of conflicts in contemporary society and drew the conclusion that social revolution was inevitable. This was so because social revolution was the only means for resolving these conflicts. Heine realised that the future belonged to the proletariat and to the communists who championed its interests. It was true that his attitude to communism was of a dual character. While understanding and accepting communism, Heine feared that proletarian rule would result in destruction of all cultural values.

Profound comprehension of social questions enabled Heine to approach the crucial problems of his time from more sound positions than those upheld by German petty bourgeois radicals. His understanding of social problems was the source of his polemics with Börne. It explained why he wrote the lampoon entitled "Ludwig Börne". It was spearheaded against the leader of the German radicals and reflected the ideological conflict they were involved in. Heine was also first to realise the revolutionary role of German idealist philosophy.

The poet's social views imposed an imprint on his journalistic work. In the 1830s he sent reports from Paris to the **Allgemeine Zeitung** of Augsburg. In this paper, one of the biggest German bourgeois papers, he skillfully promoted in concealed form his views on the role of the proletariat. Later these contributions were collected in his book "French Affairs" and "Lutecia". Heinrich Heine's publicistic works played no small part in uniting the supporters of communism.

Heine was an active contributor to the printed organs of the revolutionary democrats and German proletariat, managed by Karl Marx. This was in the middle 1840s, period of close friendship between Marx and Heine. As far as we are concerned the very fact of mutual influence during those years is important. It should be pointed out that in this reciprocal influence of the great proletarian thinker and brilliant German poet the former played the key role. It was precisely due to Marx's ideological influence that Heine experienced another upsurge

in his poetic works. It was then that he produced his most powerful works.

Karl Marx enlisted Heine's services in the issue of the **Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher** and later in the newspaper **Vorwärts** published in Paris. Several of the poet's works appeared in these publications. Among these were the poems "Weavers" and "Germany, A Winter Tale" which marked the summit of his revolutionary poetry. Heine was a frequent and welcome guest in Marx's home. Many of the verses were the fruit of their joint creativity, lively discussions with Marx and his wife whose opinion the poet held in high regard.

Karl Marx understood very well the complicated and contradictory nature of Heinrich Heine. He expressed a high opinion of his works, literary and publicistic activities, his intellect, talent, diversified education and intuition that enabled him to grasp the character and role of social struggle in contemporary society. That was why he resolutely sided with Heine in his conflict with Börne. He sharply condemned the reactionaries and liberals who had joined hands to hound the poet.

Karl Marx's influence on Heinrich Heine was indisputable. But, as Franz Mehring put it, Heine too exercised a profound influence on Marx and Engels. [25] And indeed, Marx frequently quoted from Heine's poetic works not only in conversations, but also in his printed works, particularly in publicistic articles. In articles he wrote for newspapers and journals, and in his correspondence he would repeatedly quote from Heine's revolutionary poetry. He would make use of Heine's satirical images, ironical similes as weapons in the struggle against his political opponents.

The founders of Marxism, naturally, paid serious attention to attempts to found a German working class press. We have no information on their attitude towards the early periodicals expressing the proletariat's class interests. It could be assumed, and with good reason, that Marx and Engels who maintained contacts with practically every association and other German workers' organisations in Germany and outside it knew about

the printed publications put out by the political organisations of German emigrees. For instance, they even quoted from some of these publications in their work "German Ideology".[26] The journal **Die Stimme des Volkes** was a case in point.

There is far more information on the interest Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels displayed in the press of the League of the Just. The league was a half-propaganda and half-conspiratorial society closely linked with the Blanqui Society of Seasons. It was actually the German branch of the latter. Its members were German emigrees residing in Paris. In May 1839 the League of the Just took part in an attempted armed uprising of the Blanquists. After it failed most of the League's leaders were deported from France or were forced to leave the country for England and Switzerland.

Wilhelm Weitling who was actually the ideological leader of the League of the Just exercised a noticeable influence on it. He was an outstanding phenomenon in the history of the German working class movement. M.I. Mikhailov, Soviet student in the history of the League of Communists, maintains that Wilhelm Weitling was a most illustrious ideologue and leader during the early stage of the working class movement in Germany. He was the first to attempt to unite the movement with socialism[27]. A young tailor from Magdeburg, participant in the German working class movement, Weitling produced a series of theoretical works which the German proletarians and handicraftsmen accepted enthusiastically. His main work entitled "Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom" (written in 1842) played a special role. Weitling's doctrine reflected the influence of French utopian socialists. However, as distinguished from them, he believed that a new and just order could be established only through fundamental transformation of society. According to him, a forceful revolution could be such a means. It should be mentioned that Weitling's conception contained many vague and indefinite elements. He did not realise the historic role of the proletariat. Weitling pinned his hopes on the declassed elements in society, i. e. on the lumpen-proletariat.

While he sharply criticised the vices of capitalist society, Weitling opposed the conduct of organised political struggle by the proletariat for its rights. He and his supporters also adhered to certain religious trends. With time mystical Christian elements began to play an increasing role in Weitling's works. He started to regard himself as a man fate itself had chosen to preach the ways to save humanity.

Weitling's journalistic work was of indisputable interest. To disseminate his ideas Weitling founded in 1831 a journal called **Der Hilferuf der Deutschen Jugend** (German Youth's Appeal for Aid). In the period from 1842 to May 1843 it came out under the name of **Junge Generation** (Young Generation). The journal could come out only with the organised support of the German workers and handicraftsmen who provided the money for publication and distributed it. It was read not only in Switzerland, but also in France, Britain and Germany. Separate issues even reached Berlin. Weitling's publicistic works reflected the contemporary level of the working class movement in Germany. They also bore the imprint of the limited consciousness of the German handicraftsmen.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were well acquainted with the publicistic works of Weitling and his journal. They pointed to its strong points, to its fundamental distinctions which made it different from bourgeois periodicals. Marx and Engels repeatedly mentioned Weitling's major contribution to the dissemination of ideas of the utopian movement. Engels called Weitling the founder of German communism[28], opposing him to the theorists of "true socialism". Marx too displayed a positive attitude towards Weitling. He referred to Weitling's writings as "brilliant". "As regards theory", they "are often superior even to those of Proudhon, however much they are inferior to the latter in their execution".[29] In his "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform. By a Prussian'" published in **Vorwärts** in 1844 Marx rated Weitling's works much higher than those of contemporary bourgeois ideologists. In particular, he wrote:

"It is enough to compare the petty, faint-hearted mediocrity of German political literature with this **vehement** and brilliant literary debut of the German workers, it is enough to compare these gigantic **infant shoes** of the proletariat with the dwarfish, worn-out political shoes of the German bourgeoisie and one is bound to prophesy that the **German Cinderella** will one day have the **figure of an athlete.**"[30]

However, their positive attitude towards Weitling did not prevent the founders of Marxism from subjecting to principled criticism the shortcomings and weaknesses of his theory and practical activity. When Marx met Weitling in Brussels in 1846 he tried to help the latter see his mistakes. But without success. Weitling proved incapable of overstepping the limitations of his world outlook. The differences between him and Marx soon resulted in an open conflict and in disruption of their relations. Weitling sided with the opponents of Marxism in an attempt to prevent its dissemination. Having emigrated to the USA he put out in 1850–1855 a paper which promoted the ideas of Christian socialism.

Despite Weitling's evolution the founders of Marxism did not change their appraisal of the role he played in the early period of the rise of the German working class movement. They continued to regard him not only as a "founder of German communism", but also as a founder of the German working class press.

Thus, Karl Marx's publicistic skill took shape in the context of accumulated experience and achievements in journalism, with account of the experience acquired by distinguished progressive German publicists of the past and contemporary period, bourgeois publicists and later revolutionary democratic publicists. It developed in the light of the experience gained by the German pioneers in publicism who tried to express and defend the interests of the German proletariat and to advance the ideas of utopian socialism. The creative elements Marx took over from these two sources, and also from German belles-lettres, of course, contributed to the emergence and development

of the national tradition in his publicistic works. They, beyond doubt, enriched the entire range of features and specifics characterising Marx's publicistic skill.

However, there was still another source from which Karl Marx assimilated invaluable experience for the advancement of his publicistic skill. It was beyond the bounds of the national experience and tradition of German publicism.

4. Invaluable Heritage

The interest Karl Marx exhibited in the experience acquired by the best journalists and publicists of the past and the contemporary period was not limited to Germany and other German-speaking countries. He was just as eager to learn from the progressive publicists of other European countries, France and Britain above all. Marx focussed his attention on the epoch of the French Revolution of the late 18th century – the greatest political cataclysm that had shaken human society. The interest Marx and Engels displayed in this historical period was quite natural and law-governed. They had both grown up in the Rhineland through which the French revolutionary troops marched in the relatively recent past. The people there had not yet forgotten the Marseillaise. Everything in that part of the country reminded the people of Napoleon. And you could still meet living participants in or witnesses of those events.

As Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels developed a materialistic understanding of history they realised more and more that revolutions played a special role as turning points in the history of mankind. During revolutions the rate of social development was much faster. This reveals the peculiar approach of Marx and Engels to the events of the French revolution and to the people who participated in it. On the one hand, their attitude was emotional, because the heroes of the revolution were practically their contemporaries. They looked upon Robespierre,

Saint Just, Danton, Mirabeau and Marat as symbolic images of revolutionaries, active participants in and leaders of mass popular movements. However, on the other hand, they approached history as students to make an objective analysis of the course of events and the motive forces behind them.

As a researcher Karl Marx began to manifest an interest in the Great French Revolution at a very early period of his work. He started a serious study of its history in Kreuznach, way back in 1843. He paid special attention to it, when he was in Paris the following year. It was then that he thought about writing the history of the Convent and started eagerly to collect materials for it. Marx studied the history of the French revolution in later years too. Soviet researches have arrived at the conclusion that whenever he came across some serious work on the subject, including documentary publications, memoirs or studies in history,[31] he would study it and conduct a critical analysis of the material.

It should also be mentioned that Karl Marx displayed keen interest in the press of the French Revolution. As far as he was concerned the papers and journals which came out in Paris and other French towns and cities at the time were not only an indispensable source of factual material, but also evidence of the efflorescence of revolutionary journalism. Marx read F. Buchet's and P. Rou's multivolume History of the French Revolution to study the texts of the speeches of Robespierre and Saint Just. He carefully perused the papers put out by Marat, Demoulain, Loustalo and other publicists of that epoch. In his library which was largely made up of literature on the French Revolution there were complete files of three newspapers which were published at the time of the revolution. There were seven volumes of the paper **Les Revolutions de Paris** (Revolutions of Paris), put out by Loustalo, six volumes of Cerоutti's paper **La feuille villageoise** (Rural Leaflet) and two volumes of Barera's paper **Le Point du jour** (Dawn).[32] And this was not fortuitous.

Karl Marx was well acquainted with the weekly **Revolutions de France et Brabant** (Revolutions in France and Brabant)

K. Demoulain put out in 1789–1791. In this paper he published his lampoons. Marx expressed a high opinion of Demoulain's publicistic works. In the "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts ad 1844" Marx wrote that this Jacobin lashed in his lampoons the monarchist and physiocrat Bergasse[33]. He repeatedly looked up E. Loustalo's paper too to quote it in "Capital"[34].

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels spoke highly of Marat's publicistic activity. Discussing in their jointly written work "The Holy Family" the role played by material, class interests in the life of society, Marx and Engels compared "the pen of Marat" to the "guillotine of Terror and the sword of Napoleon."[35] The founders of scientific communism studied his journalistic and publicistic works printed in the paper **L'Ami de Peuple** (Friend of the People) to use his experience in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung.** In his article "Marx and **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** (1848–1849)" Engels mentioned the influence Marat's publicistic skill exercised on them during that revolutionary period. He wrote:

"When later I read **Bougeart's** book on **Marat** I found that in more than one respect we had unconsciously imitated the great model of the genuine 'Ami du Peuple" (not the one forged by the royalists) and that the whole outburst of rage and the whole falsification of history, by virtue of which throughout almost a century only an entirely distorted Marat had been known, were solely due to the fact that Marat mercilessly removed the veil from the idols of the moment, Lafayette, Bailly and others, and exposed them as already complete traitors to the revolution; and that he, like us did not want the revolution declared finished bud continuing in permanence."[36]

Indeed, the publicistic works of Demoulain, Loustalo and above all Marat attracted Marx because he regarded them as a case of effective use of journalistic means in pursuit of revolutionary propaganda and mobilisation of the popular masses for determined action. In his opinion they were a powerful lever for exercising ideological influence on the audience. He

was impressed by their revolutionary enthusiasm, passion, mercilessness to the enemy and satirical touch. The ties the publicis maintained with the people were of tremendous interest to Marx. Marx keenly studied Marat's attempts to organise a network of voluntary people's correspondents who would contribute to his paper. Marx was impressed by how well Marat was informed, by his ability to get the information he needed from all possible sources, even from the royal palace. Marx also learned about the continuous flow of letters Marat received from every corner of France. He was using the wealth of this experience during a different period, under different conditions. Marat calling himself "sentinel of freedom" and "eye of the people", these epithets could be applied to Marx with even greater reason, when he was the editor of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung.** What Marat had only attempted to do Marx accomplished at a higher level, on a broader scale and far more effectively. The **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** was, perhaps, the best informed revolutionary paper in Germany. Its editors received information even from Prussian military barracks and from government officials. A wide and well-organised network of correspondents covered the whole of Germany and also the bigger centres of most of the other European countries. Letters from the readers–workers, peasants and soldiers–were one of the main sources of information for the publicists working in the paper. The best traditions founded by Marat–the pamphleteer were continued in Marx's lampoons.

The leaders of the international proletariat also studied the experience of the contemporary French socialist and working class press, in particular the publications promoting the ideas of utopian socialism. They were well acquainted with the periodical press of the Fourierists–their paper **La Phalange** (The Phalanx) which came out in Paris starting from 1832 and the journal of the same name which was published from 1843.

Karl Marx paid equally serious attention to the socialist and working class press of Britain. He studied the heritage of the distinguished English publicists of the past. All his life he

displayed a great interest in the British press and its history. It mounted particularly in the 1850s. This was due to a number of reasons, including the growing role the British proletariat played in the European revolutionary movement and the settling of Marx and Engels in England after the defeat of the revolution in France.

For a period of many years London became a centre of European exile for the revolutionaries. It was from there that the great proletarian revolutionaries exercised an influence on the working class movement on the continent. Over a long period of time the British and the American press offered them the only opportunity to carry on the propaganda of their ideas. The work Karl Marx did for the **New York Daily Tribune** made it necessary for him not only to study a wide range of additional questions bearing on the economy, and foreign policy of European countries, but also to know the British press and history of English publicism. To do this he had to work hard constantly.

Already from the early 1840s Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels carefully followed the growth of the working class movement in Britain. They missed no opportunity to learn more about the conditions in this most industrialy developed country in the world. It was there that the social contrasts manifested themselves first and the class struggle assumed sharper and sharper forms.

Karl Marx's direct study of Britain began in 1845 when he arrived there together with Friedrich Engels to familiarise himself with the works of the English economists at Chatham Library in Manchester. In London they met G. Harney and other leaders of the left, revolutionary wing of the Chartists. In analysing the forms and methods of the struggle waged by the Chartists – organised British working class movement – Marx became acquainted with their organs of the press. His studies in political economy, work on the tactics of the working class movement and the desire to impart an international character to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat encouraged him

to establish and strengthen ties with the British working class and socialist press, to study the literary heritage of progressive British publicists. Just like Engels, Marx turned to their creative works and experience. He used what he learned from them in his theoretical and publicistic work. P. Gaskell was one of these publicists. But the works of William Cobbet and Thomas Carlyle appealed more to Marx and Engels.

William Cobbet was an eminent spokesman of British petty bourgeois radicalism. He fought for the democratisation of England's political system. He was one of its most famous publicists. In 1802–1835 he published **Cobbet's Weekly Political Register,** and also other journals in which he published his articles and lampoons. He sharply criticised the aristocratic oligarchy, landlordism, the avarice of the Anglican clergy and financial plutocracy. Cobbet enjoyed tremendous popularity. His publications produced a powerful impact on the country's political life. Karl Marx, understandably, started a serious study of Cobbet's journalistic activity. The Soviet researchers V.M. Dalin and N.I. Nepomnyashchaya assert that Cobbet was one of Marx's favourites.[37]

And indeed, Karl Marx's publicistic, scientific and theoretical works reveal that he made a serious effort to assimilate Cobbet's heritage and had a high opinion of his publicistic skill. It would be difficult to name another English publicist whose works Marx referred to so often and so willingly. This was particularly true of the 1850s, when Marx worked for the **New York Daily Tribune.** Numerous references to Cobbet and his works and the fact that Marx frequently quoted from them (in "Capital", for instance) show that the journals Cobbet published and his creative heritage were an important source of factual material. In his London library Marx kept Cobbet's autobiography and several dozen volumes of his publications. Marx underscored many passages in them and wrote a lot of marginal notes. This shows that he frequently and thoroughly studied Cobbet[38]. Marx frequently looked up Cobbet's works to find the answers to various questions bearing on contempo-

rary political life, questions he covered in publicistic materials.

Karl Marx rated very highly the strong points of Cobbet as a political writer and publicist. He called Cobbet a "popular writer",[39] "a great English pamphleteer"[40] who pointedly and exhaustively characterised the policy pursued by the British ruling circles. Writing about Cobbet Marx remarked in 1853:

"As a writer he has not been surpassed".[41]

What did Karl Marx find in Cobbet's publicistic works that stirred the readers' minds in the beginning of the century? What was it that attracted Marx to this British petty bourgeois radical? It appears that it was the political line in Cobbet's publicistic works that attracted Marx's attention so much. Karl Marx, of course, understood very well the specific features of Cobbet's social stand. And it was this position that conditioned both the strong points and weaknesses of Cobbet's publicistic works. In an article on Layard's inquiry and struggle around the bill on a ten-hour working day, published in the **New York Daily Tribune** in July 1853, Marx gave a detailed characteristic of Cobbet's socio-political activity. Marx showed that Cobbet's trenchant criticism of the British ruling circles was really criticism from the right. He also disclosed that, though Cobbet was, on the one hand, a forerunner of the contemporary Chartist, he was, on the other hand, and to a greater degree a "hard core John Bull". Marx pointed out:

"He was at once the most conservative and the most destructive man of Great Britain – the purest incarnation of Old England and the most audacious initiator of Young England."[42]

Cobbet wanted to see the restoration of people's freedom. But he sought for it in the past rather than in the future. Marx remarked:

"With him, therefore, revolution was not innovation, but restoration; not the creation of a new age, but the rehabilitation of the 'good old times' ".[43]

And Marx disclosed the tragedy of the English publicist who failed to comprehend the true causes that brought about

the decay of the old society and calamities of the people. He could not understand that this was the result of the development and growing strength of the industrial bourgeoisie. As Marx put it, "he saw the effect, . . . but not the cause". There was a contradiction between Cobbet's illusions, the subjective aims he set himself as a public leader and publicist, and the objective, actual content of his efforts. Explaining it Marx wrote that William Cobbet, who defended by instincts the mass of the people against the encroachments of the middle class, passed in the eyes of the world and in his own conviction for the representative of the industrial middle class against the hereditary aristocracy.[44]

This profound all-round analysis of William Cobbet's social stand and features of his publicistic work is of far greater importance than a mere characteristic of the man. Marx's article helps understand the positions, line and content of the literary work of many bourgeois journalists and publicists both of the past and present.

The founders of Marxism listed as William Cobbet's merits in publicism not only the social character and trend of his works, but also their perfect form and style, the skill he displayed in polemics with his political opponents and his satirical methods of struggle. Marx and Engels referred to Cobbet's publicistic works as a peculiar yardstick of journalistic skill, publicistic form and style. To give the readers an idea about the high standard of Marx's style in the work "Civil War in France" Engels quoted the opinion of the **Spectator,** a British bourgeois paper. The **Spectator** wrote that the language of the appeal was just as powerful as that of William Cobbet.[45]

Karl Marx turned the British radical into his ally in the struggle he waged against the enemies of the revolutionary proletariat. Using Cobbet's works Marx gave the British reactionary politicians deadly characteristics, exposed the mendacity of the British press and total lack of principle. He described it as a "mean enterprise" "William Cobbet had long branded as 'venal, dishonest and ignorant'".[46] In Karl Marx's publicistic

works William Cobbet experienced a second birth. Thanks to this his role as a writer far overstepped the national frontiers of Britain.

The publicistic works of Thomas Carlyle attracted the attention of the founders of Marxism by their scathing criticism of bourgeois society. An eminent Scottish historian and publicist of the 19th century he vividly disclosed the wretched conditions of the masses of people, the hunger and poverty of the workers, the ruthless exploitation they were subjected to, the parasitism of the bourgeoisie, the inefficiency of the government and parliament elected through bribery. The works of Carlyle were influenced by German literature. This singled him out among the English writers. Way back in the early 1840s Engels published in the **Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher** an article expressing a positive opinion of "The Past and Present" – Carlyle's book of lampoons. He expressed the hope that the publicist would advance further and would overcome his contradictions. However, Carlyle developed in a different direction. After 1848 he became an outright reactionary who did not conceal his hatred for the revolutionary working class movement. He continued to criticise bourgeois society, but from positions of reactionary romanticism. This change in his views immediately evoked a response in Marx's and Engels' publicistic works. They also made a proper appraisal of him.

In 1850 issue four of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue** printed a review on Carlyle's work "Modern Pamphlets." It was written by Marx and Engels. Having referred to Thomas Carlyle's past deserts, when he attacked the bourgeoisie for dominating the whole of the official English literature, Marx and Engels made a thorough analysis of the publicist's views set forth in his latest lampoons. They exposed their reactionary character and spiritual poverty. They showed that extreme duality of views was typical of Carlyle's publicistic works. Criticism of the present was combined with anti-historical praises for the Middle Ages. The review exposed the reactionary theory about "heroes," chosen personalities be-

ing called upon to rule society. Carlyle preached this theory. The authors showed that he was completely ignorant in questions of history.

Criticism of Thomas Carlyle's social-political views, however, did not prevent Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels from pointing to the merits of form and style in which his publicistic works were written.

If we compare the attitude of Karl Marx to the publicistic works of Cobbet and to those of Carlyle, we will be able to understand the difference in his approach to the creative heritage of progressive and reactionary publicists. Whereas Marx accepted Cobbet's publicistic works in whole, rejecting their weaknesses and shortcoming, whereas he explained the sources of the latter and whereas many of the progressive elements of these works organically entered his own journalistic experience, he considered the works of Carlyle unacceptable. Mentioning some of their merits Marx helped understand their objectively reactionary role. The main criterion which determined Marx's approach to Carlyle's creative heritage, to the possibilities for assimilating and using its elements was the latter's socio-political stand.

Knowledge of the Chartist press, his personal contacts with the editors and outstanding publicists also helped enrich Marx's journalistic experience. It had been mentioned above that in 1845, during his first trip to England, Marx met George Julian Harney, editor of **The Northern Star,** the paper of the Chartists. In 1847 he established personal contact with Ernest Jones, another leader of the Chartists' revolutionary wing, at the Congress of the League of Communists in London. From then on he maintained a friendship with two distinguished British revolutionary publicists for many years to come.

Soviet historical literature having thoroughly examined the ties of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels with the Chartists and their press[47], we shall limit ourselves only to information of specific interest to us.

The Northern Star was among the periodical publications

which was in the field of view of the founders of Marxism over a period of many years. They maintained warm, friendly relations with its editors. The reason for this was the positions of the paper which persistently and bravely defended the interests of the British proletariat. The paper exercised a strong influence on the working class movement in Britain. Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engels' ties with **The Northern Star** became particularly strong during the revolution of 1848–1849, when they put out the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung.** Both papers openly supported one another in the common struggle against the enemies of the European proletariat. The publications appearing in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** immediately evoked a response in the Chartist paper. During the June uprising of the Paris workers in 1848 both papers gave support to the fighters and defended them against the slander spread by the bourgeois press. The common ideological positions of the papers was also manifest in reciprocal reprinting of materials. During that period their actions evidenced the ability of proletarian journalists to uphold a single international front in the fight against the common enemy.

After the defeat of the revolution and exile to England Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels continued to contribute to the Chartist press. When the owner of **The Northen Star** deserted to petty bourgeois positions, they started to print their articles in the journal **Red Republican,** the Chartists' new organ George Julian Harney founded in 1850. Articles by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels appeared in another Chartist publication – **Democratic Review.** Marx helped edit the journal and watched the material it published. But Harney drew close to petty bourgeois elements and altered the line and name of the journal, thus siding with the opponents of the founders of Marxism. In 1851 Marx and Engels stopped contributing to the journal and broke off all relations with the editors.

At the same time Karl Marx formed a friendship with Ernest Jones who, despite his vacillations, remained a proletarian revolutionary. In 1851–1852 Marx worked for Jones' small

journal **Notes of the People.** Starting from May 1852 he began to contribute to **The People's Paper** whose plan Jones had discussed with Marx. The weekly became a militant proletarian organ. Marx did a lot for this. He actually became Jones' co-editor. At certain times they jointly edited the materials of each issue. While the paper was coming out, Marx assisted the editors. He published in it many of his articles, including the famous serial "Lord Palmerston". He also enlisted the services of Engels, some of his other friends and supporters. He helped Jones settle the financial matters on which the publication depended. However, with the decline of the Chartist movement Jones began to vacillate politically. He even formed an alliance with petty bourgeois democrats. In the face of these developments Marx broke off with him and the paper in 1859. The paper was taken over by bourgeois businessmen. The friendship was restored only in the early 1860s, when Jones returned to proletarian positions.

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence Karl Marx exercised on the journalistic work and writings of Harney and Jones. Thanks to their friendship with Marx and Engels the revolutionary English publicists Harney and Jones were able to achieve all-round development of their journalistic aptitudes. V. E. Kunina is quite right in saying that, as far as Jones was concerned, the years of work with Marx enabled him to reach the peak of his ideological and creative development[48]. It would be fair to add that this applied also to his publicistic skill. Marx helped Jones retain the revolutionary line in his periodical publications, find the correct solutions to the most difficult questions of tactics in the working class movement. Engels rendered similar help to Harney. When Harney and Jones escaped from the influence of Marx and Engels, they compromised with petty bourgeois elements. And this inevitably resulted in serious errors in social-political and journalistic activity.

At the same time friendship and cooperation with the leaders of revolutionary Chartism did much to enrich the experience of the founders of Marxism. Harney's and Jones' publicis-

tic works equipped Marx and Engels with the knowledge of concrete facts connected with the development of the British working class movement. They made it easier for them to find their bearings in England's political life. The works of Harney and Jones were a necessary source of information for their publicistic and research work.

***

An examination of Karl Marx's attitude towards the works of publicists of the past and present makes it possible to draw a number of important conclusions. What is striking is that Marx assiduously studied the journalistic experience, that he invariably sought to find valuable elements he could use in his own publicistic practice. He treated the heritage of earlier publicists with exceptional care, regarding it as part of the common wealth mankind had accumulated in the process of its development. At the same time he exhibited a selective approach to the works produced by journalists of the past and by his contemporaries. He was above all interested in the activities of revolutionary publicists who expressed progressive tendencies in social development.

Karl Marx assimilated the publicistic experience of the past and the contemporary period in various forms and ways. Sometimes he creatively processed and developed separate polemical elements, methods and the style. While applying them to his own needs, he would raise them to a new, higher level. For instance, that was the case with K. F. Koeppen's publicistic works. As a rule, this was an indirect process, it was a sort of continuation of the progressive tradition in German journalism or the European progressive press, this tradition having been formed through the effort of some publicist, for instance one like Marat, Börne or Cobbet. If the works of a publicist (such as Carlyle) were, in whole, of a reactionary character Marx would study and use separate elements or aspects that were of positive import for social development. At the same time he would criticise and reject all the other elements and aspects. In

all cases the fundamental criterion for Marx, which determined his approach to the creative works of one publicist or another was the latter's socio-political, party stand, the role his activity objectively played in public life, and in the development of the revolutionary-democratic and working class movement.

Karl Marx, having assimilated the experience of publicists of the past and of his contemporaries, thus moulded and developed an important feature characterising his works. It was manifest in the fusion of national and international features and traditions. Before him these features and traditions existed separately. Their mutual influence, mutual enrichment and organic fusion in Marx's works were an absolutely new phenomenon in the field of publicism.

This unity of national and international features in Karl Marx's publicistic works helped emphasise their revolutionary content and impart to them a universal character.

Chapter II

Scholar Publicist

1. Significant Achievement

The history of publicism is the history of publicists. Demosthenes, Cicero and other orators and rhetoricians of antiquity, Milton, Machiavelli, Luther, Münzer, von Gutten, Marat, Demoulain, Novikov, Radishchev, Herzen, Belinski, Chernyshevski and Dobrolyubov – the brightest minds of all countries and peoples contributed unfading pages to the history of publicism. Using their power of words – spoken, written and later printed – to influence the masses, to shape public opinion some publicists contributed to progressive changes in society, whereas others sought to preserve, defend and strengthen the existing system.

The motive force behind the development of every publicist was and is his social stand, ultimately his class, party position. Publicists expressing the aims of the revolutionary masses, the revolutionary democrats defended the interests of the oppressed and exploited people. The conservatives, monarchists and religious fanatics defended the "right" of the gentry, the clergy and the bourgeoisie to determine the fate of the masses of people and to exploit them.

The publicistic activity of Karl Marx was a stage in the history of world publicism. It opened a new stage in the history of publicism. At the same time it signified the birth of a new type of publicist. Together with Engels Marx was the first publicist of a new type. They placed the art of publicism at the service of the working class and its interests. The publicists became public leaders whose works contributed to the education, rallying and organisation of the proletariat.

A cardinal feature characterising the publicist of a new

type consists in the unity of his creative practice and revolutionary theory. This unity is the product of the new, proletarian world outlook Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels developed. As V. I. Lenin put it, "the Marxist doctrine has fused the theory and practice of the class struggle into one inseparable whole."[1] Having introduced practice into the sphere of knowledge as the basic criterion of the truth of a theoretical proposition or structure, the founders of scientific communism worked a real revolution in social sciences. They were never "pure theorists", armchair scientists and scholars detached from life. In working out their theory they checked its validity against revolutionary practice. They worked for the realisation of their ideas in life to generalise the experience acquired by the revolutionary masses and to continue with the further development of theory. In pointing to a most essential feature of the doctrine of Marx and Engels, and of their work V. I. Lenin said that Marxism learned from mass practice[2].

Karl Marx organically combined the features of a brilliant thinker, scholar, great revolutionary fighter and leader of the international proletariat. But he was to contribute to the overthrow of capitalist society and to the emancipation of the proletariat[3].

Already the early works of Karl Marx revealed his desire to combine theoretical research with practical activity. In his letters to A. Ruge, which appeared in **Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher** in 1844, young Marx unequivocally stated this desire, this purpose of his work.[4] He was unwilling to engage solely in abstract philosophical debate the Young Hegelians indulged in. They exercised no influence on life at all. In contrast to this, he proclaimed the need to go over to real, practical struggle in order to change the actual conditions of life. At the time Marx considered it possible to conduct such a struggle in the field of journalistic and publicistic activity. In discussing the need to combine in organic unity the work on a revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice he actually laid down the programme of the journal he founded together with Ruge.

Marx was eager to turn the revolutionary democratic press into an instrument of political struggle for the transformation of German society. The "Theses on Feuerbach" he drafted in a notebook in April 1845, which Friedrich Engels described as "the first document in which the brilliant germ of the new world outlook is deposited,"[5] splendidly expressed the idea about the decisive role revolutionary practice played in the life of society. In the final thesis Marx concisely formulated the fundamental principle of the new world outlook:

"The philosophers have only **interpreted** the world in various ways; the point, however, is to **change** it."[6]

This principle determined the whole life work of the founders of Marxism as revolutionary scholars, leaders of the international proletariat and distinguished publicists.

In inviting friends and supporters to contribute to the daily working class paper **Stimme des Volkes** (Voice of the People) (which Weydemeyer intended to start publishing in Chicago in 1860) Marx emphasised that work for the proletarian press was extremely important party work[7].

The fundamentally new feature of Karl Marx's publicistic work was its scientific character. Wilhelm Liebknecht wrote:

"Marx treated politics as a science."[8]

Marx displayed a similar attitude towards journalism and publicism. As he saw it, though publicism was not a science, it should rest on the solid foundation of scientific theory. This approach determined the character of Marx's publicistic creative work.

2. Alliance of Science and Publicism

The works of Karl Marx were both scientific and publicistic. This was the direct outcome of his party approach. Having adopted the class positions of the proletariat and having devoted his whole life to the defence of its interests, Marx consigned his scientific, revolutionary and party activity, including his publicistic work to this purpose.

In his work "What the 'Friends of the People' are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats" V. I. Lenin showed why this organic fusion of science and revolutionary publicism occurred in the creative works of Karl Marx. He pointed out that the direct purpose of Marxist theory was to promote the struggle of the working class against the exploiters. Therefore, the direct task of science was to provide the working class with a true slogan of struggle[9]. Further V. I. Lenin explained why the theory of Marxism logically required publicistic expression. He wrote:

"It is impossible to provide 'a slogan of struggle,' unless we study every separate form of the struggle minutely, unless we trace every stage of the struggle during the transition from one form to another, so that we can define the situation at any given moment, without losing sight of the general character of the struggle and its general aim, namely complete and final abolition of all exploitation and oppression."[10]

It follows that the task of dissemination of Marxism required that every scientific, theoretical work on this theme should be publicistic. It has to meet this requirement, because publicism is an indispensable instrument for the spreading of the fundamental theses and conclusions of the theory among the masses.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels fully realised the role their journalistic and publicistic activity played as an organic limb of their scientific work which largely helped implement the results of the latter in life. Recalling the early period, when Marxist theory was only beginning to be established, and desiring to emphasise its link with revolutionary practice, Friedrich Engels wrote:

"Now, we were by no means of the opinion that the new scientific results should be confided in large tomes exlusively to the 'learned' world. Quite the contrary. We were both of us already deeply involved in the political movement, and possessed a certain following in the educated world, especially of Western Germany, and abundant contact with the organised

proletariat. It was our duty to provide a scientific foundation for our view, but it was equally important for us to win over the European and in the first place the German proletariat to our conviction. As soon as we had clear in our own minds, we set about the task."[11]

This work was for publicists. It should be mentioned that in those days the periodical press was a most effective means for persuading the proletariat. Further on Engels dealt with the **Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung** he and Marx managed, described their contacts with the Chartist press and the papers of the French republicans. It follows that the founders of Marxism invariably combined their journalistic and publicistic activity with scientific, theoretical research and studies.

Karl Marx's theoretical work left a deep imprint in his publicistic works, it provided a sound foundation for them, outlined the aims and, finally, determined their character. His publicistic works were characterised by such features as frank proletarian party spirit, militancy, closeness to the people and popularity. These features turned them into an effective instrument for the promotion of ideas that had appeared in the process of intensive scientific research. All the scientific works of the brilliant thinker, regardless of their character and genre, are distinguished for their publicistic qualities: overt reference to outstanding problems confronting social life, formulation and discussion of topical questions bearing on social development, focus on the crucial aims of the class struggle of the proletariat. However, at the same time they retain the features of genuine scientific studies, such as depth and scope of research, effort to grasp and formulate the fundamental laws and regularities governing the life and development of society, and high level of generalisation of the results secured. Therefore, the purpose of publicism is the promotion of ideas developed in scientific works, dissemination of these ideas in the masses in a form they can grasp and understand, and, chiefly the transformation of these ideas into slogans of practical political struggle. The validity of Marx's brilliant idea about theory becoming "a ma-

terial force, as soon as it has gripped the masses"[12] can be corroborated only in the process of dissemination in the masses of fundamental Marxian theses and conclusions. And this can be done above all with the help of publicism.

Therefore, all of Marx's publicistic works concretise, to a greater or lesser degree, the ideas he developed in theoretical works. They link up these ideas with current events in political and economic life. This was done in many articles, for instance, those written for the **New York Daily Tribune.** In some cases Marx's publicistic articles openly popularised and promoted these ideas. This was typical of the articles on wage labour and capital which appeared in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung.**

But it should also be mentioned that Karl Marx's publicistic activity exercised a strong influence on his scientific pursuits.

In the first place his publicistic works in a way effectively **paved the way for his scientific, theoretical works.** Sometimes the writing of publicistic materials prompted him to engaged more intensively in studies of some theoretical problem. As a result, he produced fundamental scientific works. For instance, that was the case, when he managed the **Rheinische Zeitung**. The need to state his view on the pages of the paper on so-called material interests urged Marx to turn his attention to questions of economics. Later he wrote that discussions in the Rheinisch Landtag on thefts of wood and parcelling of landed property, the official polemic, which Herr von Schaper, the Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, opened against the **Rheinische Zeitung** on the conditions of the Mosel peasantry, and finally debates on free trade and protective tariffs provided the first occasions for occupying himself with economic questions[13]. It is a fact that these studies ultimately caused Marx to write his "Capital" and to develop a new theory of political economy.

At the same time the polemics between the **Rheinische Zeitung** and the **Allgemeine Zeitung** (Universal Paper) of Augsburg led Karl Marx to the conclusion that his knowledge in the field was then inadequate. He was faced with the task of revising his

earlier ideas about the role of the state and politics in the life of society. He wanted to find the real motive forces behind social development, the ways and means for revolutionary transformation of reality. When the Prussian authorities decided to suppress the **Rheinische Zeitung** Marx resigned from the post of editor to enable the shareholders to extend the life of the paper. As he put it, he retired from the public stage "into the study"[14] to carry out a critical analysis of Hegel's concept of society and the state. The first result of his research was the manuscript "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law". It marked Marx's change from idealism to materialism. In later times too the writing of newspaper articles and other publicistic works frequently added up to the collection of factual material for initial analysis which led to important theoretical conclusions. Subsequently, these conclusions were profoundly developed in scientific works. Thus, many of the economic findings Marx published in the **New York Daily Tribune** were used in "Capital".

This organic connection between Karl Marx's publicistic activity and his scientific pursuits was possible only because the former was the continuation of the latter. It is true that each was conducted with specific means and in a different form. However, both forms of activity pursued the same purpose. That was how the brilliant thinker approached publicism. Way back in 1849 Marx started the publication in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** of a series of articles entitled "Wage Labour and Capital". They had been written on the basis of lectures he had read to the German Workmen's Society in Brussels a year and a half before. In undertaking this work Karl Marx clearly formulated his task: to examine the economic relations which formed the foundation for the existing class rule of the bourgeoisie and slavery of the workers. He wrote that "the point was, above all, to trace the class struggle in current history, and to prove empirically by means of the historical materials already at hand."[15] Anticipating Lenin's idea about publicism being the history of modern times[16], Marx explicitly expressed its

essence, referring to it as "current history". He thus emphasised the inseverable link between publicism and historical science. It should be mentioned here that this definition firmly entrenched itself in Marx's glossary of terms. Early in 1850 he repeated it characterising the specific features of the paper in an announcement of the issue of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue."**[17]

Karl Marx regarded publicism in general and his personal publicistic works in particular as current history recorded in newspaper and journal publications, historical material registered, and interpreted for judgements and conclusions. This approach alone enabled him organically to fuse theoretical research with publicistic activity. In his opinion they were elements of a single process of spiritual creativity.

Of course, in order to remain a historian the publicist must, in addition to understanding the essence and role of publicism, and its connection with history, be endowed with special abilities and skills. Karl Marx had this gift. In 1891 Friedrich Engels wrote about Karl Marx's remarkable "gift . . . for grasping clearly the character, the import and the necessary consequences of great historical events, at a time when these events are still in progress before our eyes or have only just taken place".[18] Marx was an unexcelled student in "current history."

Karl Marx's publicistic works proved to be an effective method and form for practical verification of the fundamental propositions of and conclusions from his theory, conducted in concrete conditions, in the context of actual social processes, class conflicts and revolutions. When Marx was only a beginner in publicism he wrote:

"The correct theory must be made clear and developed within the concrete conditions and on the basis of the existing state of things."[19]

The validity of Marxist theory was subjected to a stern test in the crucible of the revolutions in 1848–1849, and in later class clashes between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. It

was tested also in the course of the practical publicistic work conduced by the founders of scientific communism, when they analysed in their articles concrete events of political life, and situations emerging at various stages of European history. Marx wrote that as he worked in his articles for the **New York Daily Tribune** he was compelled to make himself familiar with practical details that lay outside the sphere of the actual science of political economy[20]. As a publicist he studied facts and events in the economic, and political life of Britain, France and other European states, the development of the struggle for national liberation in the colonies of the East. In his studies Marx applied the theory of political economy (he was working on) in the analysis of a vast volume of material he received every day.

Editors of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung
(Portraits)

1. K. Marx, editor-in-chief
2. F. Engels
3. W. Wolf
4. H. Weert
5. F. Freuligrath
6. E. Dronke
7. H. Bürges

This urged him to develop and enrich the theory itself, to ascertain and improve its propositions as he used them as a basis and instrument for the analysis of new unusual, "unforeseen" situations and events. A correct publicistic analysis of concrete material offered by life and correct forecast of the tendencies and character of revolutionary events corroborated at the same time the validity of the theory which formed the basis for the analysis.

It has already been pointed out above that Karl Marx's publicistic works were an **indispensable means, form and method for the dissemination of Marxism, promotion of its ideas, slogans which determined the aims and tactics of the class struggle waged by the proletariat.**

It follows that Karl Marx's publicistic works were scientific publicistic works in the sense that they were based on Marxist theory, produced with the help of scientific methods of knowledge and reflection of reality side by side with other methods, and in the sense that its aims were determined by science.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels themselves repeatedly said their publicistic works were of a scientific character. In their publications which appeared in the press they were guided by the theory of dialectical and historical materialism, by the theory of class struggle they had developed.

In 1859 Friedrich Engels wrote a review on the work of Karl Marx "A Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy." In this review Engels pointed out that even during historical periods, when stormy revolutionary events interfered with profound scientific research by the Communist Party and its ideologues, their practical revolutionary activity was guided by ideas which determined the scientific character of their journalistic work and the party approach to it. In disclosing the connection between the scientific character of communist journalism and its publicistic value, its proletarian party spirit, Engels wrote that the February revolution of 1848 in France "thrust our party on the political stage and thereby made it impossible for it to pursue purely scientific aims. Nevertheless, the basic outlook runs like a red thread through all the literary productions of the party. In all of them it is demonstrated in each particular case how every time the action originated from direct material impulses, and not from the phrases that accompanied the action, how, on the contrary, the political and juristic phrases were derived from the material impulses just as much as the political action and its results." [21] During this peri-

od "most of the literary productions of the party" were publicistic works written by the founders of Marxism themselves.

The scientific, materialistic world outlook of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels determined the character of all their subsequent publicistic writings. In 1895 Engels wrote an introduction to a separate German edition of Karl Marx's "Class Struggle in France from 1848 to 1850." In it he revealed his concept of various types of publicistic works. In comparing such seemingly different works as the "Communist Manifesto" and the above work by Marx, both Marx's and his own newspaper articles written in 1848–1849, Engels pointed to their common theoretical foundation. At the same time he showed the inseverable link between their scientific character and publicistic purpose. These three types of works were three links of the same chain, three stages of transition from a scientific, theoretical work to a publicistic, journalistic production. As Engels put it, the difference between them was not in the theoretical foundation (because the latter was immutable), but in the character of the tasks the authors had set themselves, in the specific aims they had pursued, in the scope of objects of research and in the way they were reflected.

Proceeding from their theory Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels examined in the "Communist Manifesto" a prolonged historical period and set forth the laws governing the development of contemporary society. As Engels put it, "in the 'Communist Manifesto' the theory was applied in broad outline to the whole of modern history . . ."[22] This scientific work was the first programme paper of mature Marxism. It was at the same time a specimen of highly effective revolutionary publicism.

In his brilliant publicistic work the "Class Struggle in France from 1848 to 1850" Marx investigated a somewhat shorter historical period. Engels further wrote that the work "was Marx's first attempt to explain a section of contemporary history by means of his materialist conception, on the basis of the given economic situation".[23] Marx set himself the task of revealing the internal causal connection between the political

events that took place during a critical period of European history which lasted many years. In pursuit of his concept he wanted to show that they were ultimately the result of the operation of economic factors. In their newspaper articles the founders of Marxism applied the very same theory to the analysis of concrete facts and events that had occurred during a brief period. Engels remarked:

"In the articles by Marx and myself in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung,** it was constantly used to interpret political events of the day."

However, "pure" publicism retained its ideological and scientific content.

The scientific soundness and Marxist theory on which Marx's publicistic works were based made them highly topical. In his publications Marx dealt with the outstanding questions of the life of society, he looked into what determined the tendency and character of its development, its "real needs" which, as Marx put it, were "to be fulfilled in reality".[25] His attention was constantly focussed on acute problems of cardinal importance. Very often, not only the course of a political class conflict and its end, the solution to a concrete political situation, but also the establishment of the character and rate of development of a longterm social process depended on the analysis and understanding of these problems. The class struggle of the proletariat, its revolutionary actions, the clashes of the popular masses with their oppressors, the struggle for national liberation and economic upheavals, such as crises – everything that was a manifestation and characteristic of a deep social process kindled the interest and creative activity of the great publicist.

Karl Marx's publications were in all cases closely connected with current developments, with everything that stirred the minds of society at the given moment, with events of vital concern to thousands and millions of people. His production was "quick-witted and alive-to-events"[26]. They raised topical questions of the day and discussed them. Marx was aware of the fact that "there is a certain period during which they (i.e. publi-

cistic works – Translator) are especially rewarding and at their most topical".[27] However, it should be pointed out that his notes and reports which, for instance, appeared in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** quickly in response to rapid revolutionary developments, were not of one-day value, which were to be read and forgotten on the following morning. Taken together they gave the reader a comprehensive idea of the revolutionary process in evolution. They provided the reader with tasks, aims and slogans of the day. These publications were ultimately continuous notes on the tactics of the working class movement, the struggle of the proletariat during a bourgeois democratic revolution.

At the same time topicality was not an end in itself for Marx, as far as his publicistic works were concerned. The great publicist did not seek to ensure alive-to-events response in the press at all costs. Quick witted and topical articles were only a means for securing the main aim pursued by his newspaper and journal articles. This aim was to equip the masses with the understanding of the fundamental laws governing socio-political development during the given period, in the given concrete situation, to determine the tendency and character of the historical process, its motive forces, the role and tasks of the social groups participating in the process, the proletariat above all. In setting forth in his publications the tactics of the working class movement Marx at the same time laid down the strategy of the movement.

Though Marx covered a wide range of themes in his publications, he invariably adhered to purposefulness and selection. This was party selection. Marx did not treat all problems confronting contemporary society. Far from it. He sought to cover only those events whose elucidation, as he saw it, could sway public opinion, advance the class enlightenment and education of the proletariat. Even when Marx was compelled to write to fulfil an order from the editors of a bourgeois paper, to write on topics they selected (as was the case when he worked for the **New York Daily Tribune),** he would direct the limelight on the

facts and situation whose analysis would help reveal the social class character of the event covered. Marx never overlooked the fundamental aims of the working class movement which he guided together with Engels.

3. Unity in Diversity

What were the main themes of Karl Marx's publicistic works? What are their main trends? What factors moulded them?

It has been pointed out that Karl Marx preferred to deal with the most complicated social problems whose treatment called for broad knowledge in many fields, competence in theory and erudition in many matters and events of past and modern history, politics and economy. Two factors above all played a decisive part in the establishment of the guidelines in his publicistic activity. The first was Marx's theoretical pursuits, the development of his scientific interests. The second factor was his practical revolutionary-party activity. If we compare these factors with the themes of Marx's publicistic works during the various periods of his journalistic activity, we will see that they are closely interconnected.

What strikes us is the diversity of themes dealt with in Karl Marx's publicistic works, their all-round character. However, it is not difficult to single out two main aspects, as far as their content goes. The first is economics and everything connected with economy. This is in keeping with Marx's main line of scientific work. Soviet researches have justly pointed out that during the entire period of work as a publicist Marx regarded economics as the main theme. In concrete economic reality, in its changes and in the influence it exerted on other social spheres he sought for facts and developments that would confirm the laws he discovered – the laws governing the development of society. Economic reality provided him with material for generalisations in the theory of economics.

And indeed, if we look into Karl Marx's publicistic heritage, we will easily see that he became increasingly interested in economic questions. The economic theme soon became the pivot of his writings. Starting with the articles he wrote for the **Rheinische Zeitung** – "The Debates on Thefts of Wood" and "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel" – he paid more and more attention to the material conditions of the popular masses and problems of political economy. This is evidenced by his work "Protectionists, Freetraders and the Working Class" (1847), "Speech on Free Trade" delivered in January 1848 and the articles he contributed to the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung**. Marx analysed the budget of the Kingdom of Prussia ("Budget of the United States and Christian German Budget," "More About the Old Prussian Finances"), criticised the views of Thiers on French farming ("Thiers' Speech on the Universal Mortage Bank with a Compulsory Rate"). Finally, in April 1849 the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** printed five of his articles entitled "Wage Labour and Capital" which opened a series of publications on the most involved economic problems. The paper published close to a dozen and a half articles by Karl Marx on economic themes. This was a peculiar prologue to his subsequent work in economic publicism.

The publications in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue** also indicate to Karl Marx's tremendous interest in economic questions. His big historico-publicistic work the "Class Struggle in France from 1848 to 1850," the article "Louis-Napoleon and Fould", the reviews on the books of Guizot and Girardin he wrote together with Engels, the first, second and particularly the third international commentaries show that Marx was eager to examine "the underlying reality" beneath the political developments[28]. He arrived at the conviction that only an analysis of the economic processes would help disclose the real causes behind the political events, the struggle between classes and parties. In his publicistic works of that period he used the method of materialist dialectics to study an important period in European history. He explained

its specific features on the basis of economic development.

In the 1850s–1860s the economic theme decidedly became the key line in Karl Marx's publicistic works. This is evident not only from the fact that a rather large proportion of his articles were specifically devoted to economic problems, but also from the fact that other publications dealing with politics were also connected with economics. For instance, in an article he wrote for the **New York Daily Tribune** in August 1852 – "Elections in England – Tories and Whigs" – Marx analysed the economic basis of "the material class interests" of the Tories and Whigs – the main bourgeois parties contending for political power in Britain. In a month and a half after that he sent to the editors of that paper several articles specially devoted to economic questions. In these contributions he issued a warning about the approaching cyclical economic crisis. Among these articles were "Pauperism and Free Trade – The Approaching Commercial Crisis" and "Political Consequences of Commercial Prosperity". Following this, one article out of two or three Marx wrote examined economic questions. In other publications he would include a special economic section.

Karl Marx's articles on economic themes could be used to make up a complete pattern of the economic history of the West European countries and the USA at a crucial stage of development of capitalist society. Karl Marx – brilliant political economist – was also an expert on the national economy. He knew more about most of its sectors than many specialists. This determined his approach to the elucidation of economic developments and processes and his method for analysis of the material he had collected. As always, both in his theoretical studies and publicistic activities Marx tried to combine his interest in the general laws governing the economic development with his interest in concrete forms these laws manifested themselves in certain situations.

Karl Marx's publicistic works on economic themes displayed keen interest in everything that occurred in the economic sphere on all continents, in all the major countries. Hun-

dreds of various facts and events were carefully analysed in his articles. These would reveal the connections between them and their interdependence, and also their influence on the course of economic development. In his articles he would cover the fluctuation of the rates on the European exchanges, the development of industries in Prussia, the growth of the banking system in France, the discovery of gold in California, construction of railways in India, emigration of peasants from Ireland, and crop failures in the West European countries. Though he looked into such a wide range of themes, this did not mean that his works were incoherent. On the contrary, the desire of the publicist to base his research on the sound foundation of numerous facts, his unwillingness to miss something that would cast a doubt on his conclusions and the results of his generalisations was rational. Actually Marx would organise a vast number of outwardly different facts to prove his point along several lines of thematic analysis in pursuit of his main aims. The first aim – the principal one – was to establish the laws governing the development of capitalist society.

Karl Marx used his publicistic work to ascertain and enrich the fundamental propositions and conclusions he had drawn in the development of a new theory of political economy. Analyses of concrete economic facts and situations showed that his findings on the development of capitalist economy were correct and that this development was of a cyclical character. In a series of publications in the **New York Daily Tribune** Marx studied the specific features of the crises which shook the economies of capitalist countries from time to time. In his articles "Pauperism and Free Trade. – The Approaching Commercial Crisis", "The Western Powers and Turkey. – The Approaching Economic Crisis.– Railway Construction in India", "The Monetary Crisis in Europe. – From the History of Money Circulation", "The European Crisis", "The Upheaval in British Trade" and dozens of others he drew attention to the signs of the approaching economic crisis, established its preconditions and determined the main stages in its emergence

and development. Marx carefully followed and studied the process of industrial development in the West European countries, prosperity in trade, credits, the establishment of economic ties covering all the continents and creation of a world market.

But the economic growth and industrial boom typical of capitalist countries in periods preceding crises did not conceal from Marx the other side of capitalist economic development. In his works the publicist showed how the growth of wealth on one pole of capitalist society led to impoverishment on the other. The mounting intensity of capitalist exploitation meant ruin, poverty, hunger and forced emigration. In 1859, in his article "Population, Crime and Pauperism" Marx analysed the statistics of official reports on the population in England. He wrote: "There must be something rotten in the very core of a social system which increases its wealth without diminishing its misery, and increases in crimes even more rapidly than in numbers."

He saw that the development of capitalist production inevitably caused the conditions of the proletariat to grow worse and sharpened social class contradictions.

Karl Marx pursued another line of study in various economic materials, which was reflected in his publicistic works. This was the analysis of the conditions and concrete situations taking shape in the economies of separate countries. The economy of each capitalist country developed in keeping with the general laws governing capitalist production. However, the forms and ways in which these laws manifested themselves concretely in different economic situations in these countries were characterised by certain specific features.

Several big European countries, Britain above all, attracted Karl Marx's main attention. This was due to a whole range of reasons. One was that the readers of the **New York Daily Tribune** by tradition displayed an interest in the developments occurring in the economic and political life of Britain which was once the mother country. The United States of America was still bound to Britain with many historical, cultural and econ-

omic ties. Another was that Marx resided in England and had good possibilities for acquiring broad and varied information on the situation in the country and in its economy. He was in a position to take advantage of his contacts with British scholars, to study the literature in the library of the British Museum and to follow the British press. And, finally, the main reason was that Britain was the citadel of capitalism in those days. At the time capitalist economy in Britain reached the highest level of development. In addition, the laws governing capitalist production manifested themselves most powerfully in the most vivid form. Changes in Britain's economy – rise or slump in production – immediately evoked a response in other countries.

In his articles and reviews Karl Marx elucidated all the main features characterising the development of British economy: prosperity of separate industrial branches, rising trade and credit, construction of transport facilities, decline in production preceding an economic crisis and specific manifestations of the crisis which assumed a disastrous character in England, the consequences of the crisis which drove the workers into a state of extreme misery. In the publicistic works he wrote during those years he analysed the British economy. This analysis led him to the conclusion that life itself had fully corroborated the fundamental propositions of the new theory of political economy he was working on. Life had shown that the economic crises were inherent in the capitalist system and that they would erupt inevitably, as a law–governed process, as long as the system continued to exist.

Karl Marx also paid serious attention to the conditions in France. There economic processes always resulted in acute social conflicts and revolutionary explosions. He watched the industrial agiotage, the financial speculations of the French bourgeoisie, registered the fusion of banking capital with industrial capital during the economic boom (he described this in a series of articles on the Credit mobilier Bank of Paris, published in 1856) and covered in detail the development of the crisis which had gripped the French economy in 1857.

Naturally, Karl Marx kept the economy of Prussia and other German states in his field of view. Although he was living in exile, he received adequate information for making a competent judgement on the economic situation in his native country. In the publications which appeared in 1856 Marx took note of the speculation fever the big German bourgeoisie had been affected by. The article "Financial Crisis in Europe" was nearly wholly devoted to the epidemic of bankruptcies that had swept the banks and enterprises of Hamburg. In a number of articles he looked into the development of the financial-economic crisis in the Austrian Empire.

As time passed on, particularly after the late 1850s, two other countries – Russia and the United States of America – attracted Karl Marx's attention more and more. Even though the information he was receiving on the situation in Russia was far from complete, he arrived at the conclusion that economic and social reforms were bound to be enacted there. He published in the **New York Daily Tribune** several articles on Russia – "The Question of the Abolition of Serfdom in Russia," "On the Emancipation of the Peasants in Russia" and a few others giving a profound analysis of the situation in that country before the reform. Marx said that the defeat of Russia in the Crimean War of 1854–1855 catalysed the processes which undermined its might and the foundations of feudal serfdom. He predicted the inevitable collapse of serfdom which inhibited the development of capitalism in the country. He exposed the forced, antipopular character of the reforms drafted by the tsarist government. Already then Marx hoped that a revolutionary situation would develop in Russia, which would erupt in a mass uprising. He wrote:

"The Russian 1793 will be at hand, . . . the reign of terror . . . will be something unequalled in history, but it will be the second turning point in Russian history and finally place real and general civilisation."[30]

During the reform and after it Marx paid more and more attention to the conditions in Russia. His publicistic works on

this theme were being written in preparation for more profound research in this field. He repeatedly returned to the study of the causes, essence and consequences of the reform. The results of his research effort were reflected, in particular, in a manuscript entitled "Notes on the Reform of 1861 and Post-Reform Development of Russia". Marx worked on it in 1881–1882.[31]

When the Civil War (1861–1865) broke out in the United States of America, Karl Marx paid keen attention to the conditions in that country. He justly believed that the Civil War in the United States would exercise a revolutionising effect on the development of the working class movement in Europe. He, therefore, set himself the task of giving the European reader an objective account of the events taking place overseas. Marx wrote over 40 articles on the Civil War in the USA. Most of them were published in **Die Presse,** a liberal paper printed in Vienna. They showed that the military conflict in the United States was a form of struggle between two socio-economic systems – the capitalist wage labour system typical of the northern states and the slave labour system which entrenched itself in the south. The latter was a pre-capitalist form of exploitation of the direct producer. The publicist explained that the war was above all to resolve the question of whether the United States of America would develop along the capitalist road. Capitalist development was no longer compatible with the existence of slavery.

In his publicistic works Karl Marx dealt with economic themes during a large part of the 19th century – from the early 1840s to the middle of the 1860s. Economic themes were inseparable from Karl Marx's scientific pursuits.

The second key line in Marx's publicistic works was politics in all its forms and manifestations, such as class clashes, party struggles, measures taken by states and state bodies, life and work of concrete historical personalities. While working on the doctrine, on the basis and superstructure, Marx persistently studied all the aspects of relations between economy and poli-

tics. In his publicistic works he set forth his understanding of the interconnections and relations between these two spheres. On the one hand, Marx pointed to the decisive influence of economic factors on the entire superstructure, on the whole life of society, including politics. On the other hand, he observed and studied the influence politics and ideology exercised on all the other elements of the superstructure, and also on the economy. Marx made it clear that the stands upheld by parties and their actions, the positions and actions of politicians and ideologues were ultimately always determined by the character of social production and its development. One of his principal aims was, in the final count, to show the ways and forms economic processes and laws manifested themselves in concrete political events and situations.

The first thematic line in these researches (which was the principal one) was social conflicts, struggle between classes and parties in contemporary capitalist society, the working class movement which was an outgrowth of these conflicts, the efforts of the proletariat to pursue an independent policy and establish an independent organisation, and working class action against capitalist exploitation.

Whenever Karl Marx wrote about concrete political events and appraised the positions of various political parties and politicians, he invariably sought to establish the general basis, the laws governing these actions and, at the same time, to reveal the specific features characterising them. This analytical approach was typical of his publications in newspapers and journals and, in even greater degree, of his bigger theoretical-publicistic works, such as the "Class Struggle in France from 1848 to 1850" and "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte".

It would be fair to say that there was no major event in the political life of Europe's big countries, no event reflecting some social conflict or the course of the class struggle that Karl Marx failed to cover in his publicistic works. And, of course, he invariably wrote about revolutionary action by the working people against their exploiters and oppressors.

It would be possible to refer to Karl Marx as the chronicler of European revolutions. He, of course, covered the revolution of 1848–1849 in Germany, making quick and profound analysis of all of its developments. Marx immediately wrote articles on the uprising of the Paris workers in June 1848, on the proclamation of a Republic in Rome in February 1849, and on the revolutionary action by the masses of people in Hungary and other countries. In later years too his attention was riveted to the revolutionary events which shook, during various periods, bourgeois society on the European continent and beyond its bounds. In 1854 he published in the **New York Daily Tribune** an eight – article serial on "Revolutionary Spain" (it was never completed). In it he set forth the course, causes and character of the bourgeois revolution which broke out in the Pyrenean Peninsula. In his publications in the press of the I International Marx hailed the proclamation of the Paris Commune. He gave support to the world's government of proletarian dictatorship, defended it against bourgeois slander and explained its essence and character.

Karl Marx attached special importance to revolutions in the historical process. He regarded them as accelerators, as "locomotives of history", as catalysts of popular creative energy. In taking revolutionary action the masses of people acquired access to direct participation in political life.

Karl Marx paid equally close attention to the policy of the bourgeoisie – the class opposite of the proletariat, to the policy of bourgeois and absolutist governments which defended its interests. He was equally interested in both aspects of this policy – both home and foreign. He analysed the home and foreign policies on concrete materials shedding light on the situation in various countries, above all in England, France, the bigger German states – Prussia and Austria, Italy, Russia and the United States of America.

Karl Marx, quite understandably, was always interested in the situation in the country of his birth, in the home policy of the governments of numerous German states, Prussia and Aus-

tria in particular, in the relations between these two countries, which largely determined the ways for the national unification of Germany. Starting from the 1840s he reported and commented on the home policy of the Prussian government. Its purpose was to suppress the revolutionary democratic and working class movements. Marx exposed the government reprisals against the democratic elements and revealed its desire to reduce to nil the results of the bourgeois revolution of 1848–1849. After the defeat of the revolution Marx emigrated to England, where he continued closely to watch the developments in Prussia. His publicistic works of the 1850s–1860s laid bare the surrender of the German liberal bourgeoisie to Bismarck and the monarchy. He branded the upsurge of chauvinism and the rising wave of reaction.

Starting from the early 1850s England attracted ever greater attention on the part of Marx. He naturally devoted more space to it in his publicistic works. This was due to the role it played in world economy and politics, the role played by the British working class movement and the effect it exercised on the fates of the revolution on the continent. The bourgeoisie of all countries looked upon England as a model of all democratic freedoms which had been implemented in practical life. Marx's articles struck a painful blow at this legend. He exposed the illusions bourgeois liberals spread among the masses of people. He devoted dozens of articles to the analysis of the British political system: the class character and the positions upheld by the two main bourgeois parties – the Tories and Whigs – which alternately took over the helm of the state from one another, the home policy of the British ministries, the budget of the British bourgeois state, the roles played by the various political leaders, such as Palmerston, Gladstone and Disraeli. Marx disclosed the essence of the British state setup, the oligarchic system which obstructed all truly democratic changes in the country.

The political and ideological struggle in France provided Karl Marx with invaluable material for revealing the forms in

which economic factors operated in the sphere of politics. In France sound revolutionary traditions of the popular masses, the workers in particular, took shape before they were established in any other country of Europe. The French proletariat repeatedly sounded the signal for revolutionary action in other countries. It did so by setting an example. That was why, even in the days of the **Rheinische Zeitung,** Marx devoted a large part of his publicistic works to the political life of France, namely to revolutionary action by the workers, change of bourgeois governments, the coup of Louis Bonaparte, analysis of the essence of the policy pursued by the Bonapartist regime, its downfall and the personalities of the Second Empire, starting with Napoleon III.

One of the permanent themes Karl Marx dwelt on in his publicistic works was the national liberation struggle in Italy. It included the ways and methods for the solution of the problem of the country's national reunification, the role of the bourgeoisie, the popular masses and the proletariat in this movement. He spared no pains in comparing the historical destinies of Italy and Germany which were working on similar tasks of national unification.

Karl Marx kept abreast of the successful operations conducted by Garibaldi and his troops, he explained the errors in the actions of this popular leader. Taking advantage of them the Italian bourgeoisie seized the fruits of the people's victory.

Karl Marx did not overlook the political developments in Russia, Spain and other European countries. He combined the analysis of the bourgeoisie's home policies with an analysis of its foreign policy. Marx showed that these two aspects characteristic of the existence of the bourgeoisie equally disclosed, though in different form, its class nature as exploiter of the masses of working people wherever it could establish its rule.

He made special effort to analyse profoundly and from all sides the foreign policy pursued by Britain. In the 1850s–1860s he devoted dozens of articles to this theme. He opened to view the antipopular character of British diplomacy which con-

cerned itself only with the interests of financial and industrial lords and big estate holders, sacrificing to them the interests of the entire nation. His pamphlet "Lord Palmerston" won broad fame. In it the writer painted a bright portrait and gave a brilliant characteristic of Lord Palmerston who stood at the head of the British government over a period of several years. It was he who inspired the home and foreign policy the government conducted. Marx uncovered the counter-revolutionary role Britain played in international life, its double-dealing and treachery towards the liberation movement in Italy, Hungary and Poland.

Karl Marx watched very closely the international conflicts and featured the conditions that paved the way for them. In his publicistic works he studied from all angles the contradictions between Austria and Prussia, between France and Prussia which ultimately led to the war of 1870–1871, the attempts of France under Bonaparte to establish its leadership of Europe, its desire to seize Italian territory, the clashes of British, Russian, Austrian and other interests in the Balkans and the Near East. In the course of this study the author would denude the real causes behind the events, the true aims the contending sides were eager to secure.

Karl Marx's publicistic production also reflects his interest in the movements for national liberation in the Balkans. Many articles dealt with the Crimean War. In these he showed that in the war both contending sides – Russia on the one hand, and Britain, France and its allies on the other – were equally pursuing predatory aims, they were equally guided by selfish interests.

The founders of Marxism hoped that the clash between England and France on the one hand, and Russia on the other, would lead to a new rise in the revolutionary democratic movement, to a revolution that would overthrow the antipopular regimes in the main European countries. Although the course of the war failed to justify the hopes of Marx and Engels, its outcome seriously affected Russia's position. It brought about

a crisis of serfdom and of the regime and paved the way for a pre-revolutionary situation in the country.

In the 1850s–1860s Karl Marx allotted more space in his publicistic works to the colonial policy of the bourgeoisie and the national liberation movements in the colonies. By then Britain, France and some of the other European countries had seized big colonies in Asia and Africa. Marx characterised the main features and aims of the colonial policies steered by the capitalist powers. He shed light on the methods used in pursuit of these policies. In giving an account on the concrete events in British and French colonies Marx at the same time formulated the fundamentals of his doctrine on the national-colonial question. He laid down the positions to be upheld by the revolutionary proletariat with respect to the liberation struggle waged by the oppressed peoples. He further set forth the principles of proletarian internationalism that had earlier been proclaimed in the "Communist Manifesto". The "Founding Manifesto of the International Working Men's Association" which Marx wrote in 1864 contained an action programme of the working class in the sphere of foreign policy and international relations. It proposed that the proletariat itself should master the secrets of international politics, should watch the diplomatic activities of the bourgeois governments in order to oppose their counter-revolutionary and predatory foreign policies everywhere. The proletarian position was to assist the revolutionary democratic changes, liberation of oppressed peoples, because this would help the proletariat achieve its class aims.

In baring the colonial policy of the European powers, its inspirers and executors, Karl Marx spoke out in defence of the peoples of the colonies, their rights to independence and sovereignty. He paid serious attention to India, Britain's biggest crown colony. In giving an insight into the conquest of that country by the British, Marx at the same time examined the history of its peoples, he dwelt on its specific features which enabled the invaders to conquer India. Already then he raised the question which bore on the prospects for the liberation of that

colony and on the ways to achieve it. He wrote that the colonies would win independence as a result of the national liberation struggle waged by their peoples. At the same time Marx displayed special perspicacity, when he pointed to the possibility of their liberation as a result of proletarian revolutions in the mother countries. He regarded these two factors as two sides of the same revolutionary liberation movement. Marx devoted a serial of articles to the national liberation uprising in India in 1857–1859. He gave an analysis of its causes, character, and the motive forces. He explained that, though the uprising had suffered defeat, it had dealt a powerful blow at British colonial rule, compelling the colonialists to change the methods of administration in the country.

Karl Marx exhibited an equally great interest in the colonial policies of the European powers in the Far East. In his articles he condemned the British, French and other European colonialists for waging the so-called opium wars against China. He exposed the savage, atrocious methods the colonialists resorted to in pursuit of their aims. His publicistic works analyse the events connected with the Taiping rebellion in China in 1851–1864. It was a war of the peasant masses both against the Chinese feudal lords, the Manchu Ch'in dynasty that had oppressed the people, and also against the foreign colonialists. In opening up the contradictory features of the Taiping movement Marx pointed to its revolutionary, objectively progressive character. He followed the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Burma. It gave Marx satisfaction to note the desire of these peoples to fight back the colonialists and to save their independence.

He wrote several articles for the "New American Enclyclopedia" on Bolivar and other progressive leaders, in which he showed the decisive role of the masses in the achievement of victory in the countries of Latin America. The peoples of these countries waged a struggle for liberation from Spanish colonial rule.

Karl Marx's analysis of the colonial policies conducted by

bourgeois governments and of the national-liberation struggles waged by the peoples led him to an important conclusion. He found that the national liberation movement in the colonies and other dependent countries would weaken the capitalist system, sharpen its contradictions and thus promote the victory of proletarian revolution. This conclusion on the interconnection and interdependence ot the international proletarian movement and the national liberation struggle of the peoples in the colonies and other dependent countries was of tremendous theoretical and practical importance. It formed the basis of a doctrine V. I. Lenin developed later on the struggle for national liberation waged by the peoples in the colonies as part of the overall anti-imperialist revolutionary process.

An examination of the specific features of Karl Marx's publicistic works has made it possible to establish some of its essential features. One of these, as it has already been mentioned above, is the diversity of the themes dealt with in them. Depending on the time and stage of his publicistic activity Marx gave preference to one thematic line or another. The themes he expounded either acquired primary importance or receded into the background.

Though Marx's publicistic works covered a wide range of diverse themes, they were characterised by unity and wholeness. This is the main point. And we can say this with good reason. Everything in his publicistic productions was interconnected and mutually conditioned. Each article and report complemented, continued or preceded another. Every publication Marx produced for a newspaper or journal was a link in the chain of his publicistic works. This was due to his party stand and the aim he pursued in his revolutionary-party, scientific and publicistic activities. In the final analysis everything served to express and defend the class interests of the proletariat, promote its political education, organisation, prepare for and ensure the victory of the proletarian revolution.

An important feature of Karl Marx's publicistic works was that they all were addressed to the future. In these works Marx

studied the cardinal tendencies of social progress, the basic factors determining the direction of social development. He turned his publicistic works into a weapon of struggle. He used them to fight everything that inhibited the development of society. These works were an instrument of support of the forces which contributed to progress, the forces to whom the future belonged.

4. Style of Work

The scientific character of Karl Marx's publicistic works manifested itself not only in the themes, the choice of subject matter and concrete objects of study, but also in the nature and features of the creative process. The latter conditioned, in a law-governed manner, the birth of a new type of publicistic production.

Analytical works, such as articles, reports, reviews etc., form the basis of Karl Marx's publicistic productions. Without discussing their features here (because this will be done in a subsequent chapter of the book) we shall make a few preliminary remarks. The analytical character of Karl Marx's publicistic materials is, of course, by no means fortuitous. This does not at all mean that he did not appreciate the value of journalistic information in all forms and genres. On the contrary, he attached tremendous importance to information, quick news reports. While doing so, he regarded them only as a precondition, as material for subsequent analysis and generalisation. Marx above all set himself the task of helping the reader see the essence and importance of the events reported, understand their social causes, class character, and connections with other facts and events. This was necessary to lead the reader to definite conclusions which would guide him in his actions and deeds. Thus, he had in mind the ways in which a publicistic work could influence the mind of an individual or the minds of masses of people.

In every contribution Karl Marx wrote for a newspaper or journal he sought to analyse from all angles the concrete, specific forms characterising the course of events or a real social process. His purpose here was to establish their basic causes, to show the general tendency of social development. What interested him as a publicist was the general background (cause) of concrete facts and events in social, political life and the specific ways for revealing it. Marx could not (nor did he want to) achieve this aim with the help of methods used by earlier publicists and on the theoretical basis which determined their works. This was unacceptable for him. He used a new, universal method for the study of life and reflection thereof. He had developed this method in the course of research. This method is known as materialist dialectics. As V. I. Lenin put it, the founders of Marxism applied materialist dialectics to history, natural science, philosophy and to the policy and tactics of the working class[32].

In his publicistic works Karl Marx invariably used the "guiding thread" – the theory of class struggle which enabled him to discover "the laws governing this seeming maze and chaos"[33] of political life. Materialist dialectics and class analysis determined the character and features of each work of his. That is precisely why Marx's publicistic works have not lost their value for our time. They are a specimen of how to penetrate the essence of the event or phenomenon being reflected and – this being far more important – they offer a methodological basis for work of any communist journalist. As Franz Mehring put it, when Marx prepared the scientific groundwork for his articles he imparted eternal value to them[34].

Friedrich Engels pointed to the unusually high theoretical level of Karl Marx's materials written for newspapers and journals. He wrote:

"... These are not ordinary reports, but reviews of the political and economic situation in separate European countries, reviews based on a thorough study, very often making up a series of articles."[35]

In this characteristic of the contributions he wrote for the **New York Daily Tribune** Engels mentioned another important feature typical of all of Marx's publicistic productions, namely their vast scope. Indeed, one should comprehend Marx's publicistic works as thematic serials or cycles. It is easy to identify these serials not only when the author himself combined several articles under the same theme, and quite often under the same heading. A case in point was a four-article serial entitled "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-revolution" which appeared in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** in December 1848, or an eight article serial which came out under the heading "Lord Palmerston." It was printed in the course of three months in 1853 by the Chartist paper **The People's Star** and simultaneously in the **New York Daily Tribune.** Subsequently they were printed in the form of a pamphlet. However, other articles by Karl Marx too, articles and materials appearing at irregular intervals and under different headings, actually formed thematic serials, though they were not formally serials. Here we could quote as an example six articles on the uprising of the workers and petty bourgeois elements in Vienna, which appeared in October and November 1848 in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung.** In the end the uprising was cruelly suppressed by the Austrian warlords. The reason why these thematic series appeared was not only because Marx adhered to the German tradition in publicism, but also because he was above all eager to carry out an all-round, comprehensive and profound study and reflect social processes, political events and phenomena, to establish their causes, essence and consequences. And the thematic series offered the great publicist the broadest possibilities for conducting such a study of reality.

The features of Karl Marx's publicistic work in which he organically combined scientific soundness with publicism have attracted the attention of quite a few Soviet researches. Thus, the historian N. Y. Zastenker focussed his attention on the scope of Marx's publicistic works, on the theoretical, sociological character of their generalisations. In his opinion the articles

Karl Marx wrote for the **New York Daily Tribune** were a comprehensive historical and sociological study of capitalist society during his lifetime.[36]

The scientific soundness, theoretical depth and scope of Karl Marx's publicistic works raised them to a level far above that of regular newspapers reporting. Even bourgeois journalists were compelled to admit this. In a leading article published on April 7, 1853 the editors of the **New York Daily Tribune** decided to pay tribute to the abilities of their correspondent. The leader read in part:

"Mr. Marx has very decided opinions of his own, with some of which we are far from agreeing, but those who do not read his letters neglect one of the most instructive sources of information on the great questions of current European politics."[37]

In a note accompanying Karl Marx's article on the budget of the Gladstone government (Britain) the editors of the **New York Daily Tribune** wrote: "We have not read anywhere more skilled criticism of the budget and its author, we cannot even hope anything like this to appear."[38]

It is curious to note that present-day bourgeois ideologists who have gone to extremes to belittle the importance of Karl Marx's journalistic and publicistic activities have been compelled to admit that the level of his publicistic work was unusually high for his times. In an attempt to prove that Marx had no inclinations to journalism or the abilities for publicism W. Blumenberg remarked that journalistic work helped him extend the sphere of interests, know life better, and also improve the forms and style of his scientific works. W. Blumenberg further wrote that Karl Marx used many of his economic and social-critical articles in "Capital". Some of them could be regarded, W. Blumenberg noted, as "a model of social criticism".[39]

Karl Marx developed a new methodology and "technology" for professional writing of proletarian, communist publicistic work.

The character of Karl Marx's publicistic writings was largely determined by his social interest in many spheres and his political-party activities. Of course, there were cases in past history, when an eminent thinker turned to publicistic activity. Take Hegel, for instance, who edited a small German paper. But this was a mere episode in the biography of this great German idealist philosopher. This work did not play a big part in his scientific pursuits. In Marx's life everything was different. Journalism became one of the main lines in his practical revolutionary activity. His publicistic works formed a facet of his creative spiritual endeavours. As a publicist he was always a scholar, and contrarywise, as a scholar he was a publicist who always gave thought to the publicistic value of his scientific works.

As the author of an article, review or lampoon Karl Marx appeared before the reader also as a scholar and even an artist. As a scholar specialising in history he managed to reconstruct the course of events with outstanding objectivity. As a sociologist he studied the entire system of social facts, phenomena and their interconnections. As a psychologist he took account of the psychology of the popular masses and public leaders of various social groups, classes and parties. As an economist he examined the course of deep, undercurrent economic processes and the ways they manifested themselves in political life. As a statistician he had a very good understanding of the power of figures and the effect this power could exercise on a large audience. As a student in law, as a lawyer, he mastered the entire arsenal of the bourgeois science of law to beat his political opponents with the weapon of logic. And, of course, as a philosopher he relied on the achievements of the theory of dialectical and historical materialism, which he had developed together with Engels. He made skillful use of the method of dialectics in all spheres of his spiritual creative activity. At the same time, when Marx wrote his publicistic works he displayed his abilities of an artist, a satirist who created bright images to convey to the reader the content of the events under review. He used

highly expressive similes, the sparkling pointedness of folk language, taking advantage of the wealth offered by his native and foreign languages. This was the kind of man he was, he used his phenomenal erudition, the wealth of his inexhaustible knowledge and capabilities of a theorist and scholar and his talent for vision and reflection of life in images, to formulate and resolve major social problems with the help of publicism, with the help, as he put it, "of practical spiritual mastering of this world".[40]

Only a scholar working in the sphere of publicism could be endowed with special political vision typical of Karl Marx. He was capable of penetrating into the essence of the processes which determined for centuries the tendency and character of social development. In his articles he grasped historical epochs in whole, in countries and continents. At the same time his eye caught facts and details that the overwhelming majority of his contemporaries regarded as insignificant. He, on the contrary, regarded them as manifestations of the operation of powerful undercurrent forces that would alter the course of history. This ability was unprecedented in a publicist, the ability to combine "macroscopic" – large scale – and "microscopic" – detailed – vision of the world, to see the big in the small.[21]

Only a great scholar could at any moment act as publicist – write an article or report on a theme that currently stirred the minds of the public, formulate in newspaper material a most complicated problem of political life and offer ways and methods for its solution. Karl Marx was **ready** at all times to write something for the press. This was a feature that distinguished him as a publicist. In his reminiscences Paul Lafargue figuratively compared Marx's brain to a warship anchored in harbour, but under steam. This ship was ready to set sail in any direction of thought[41]. Lafargue's figure of speech was used in reference to Marx – the scholar. It really applies to Marx – the publicist in even greater degree. Indeed, his brain which was splendidly equipped with the knowledge of an infinite number of facts, which had accumulated a vast volume of knowledge

and observations, was always ready to use them in a publicistic material he was asked to write. Marx felt confident not only because he was an erudite expert, but also because he was equipped with methodology and philosophy. His dialectical method and class approach to all facts, events and processes in political life gave his publicistic writings an all-round character, depth and objectivity to analysis, scope and meaning to his conclusions. This was a great advantage he enjoyed over bourgeois journalists. Herein lay the fundamental difference between his methods of creative work and those of theirs.

It is not fortuitous that practically all bourgeois Marxologists have tried to prove the "exceptional" character of Karl Marx's journalistic work. They have tried to persuade the reader that Marx's methods of publicism had nothing in common with journalistic practices adhered to in "regular" newspaper editorial offices. They repeat the same "arguments" time and again, claiming he was an "aristocrat in journalism", saying he did not seek to earn a living by journalistic work, as most pauper journalists have to do. Bourgeois Marxologists have also averred that he was allegedly deprived of vital sources of information, because he did not meet statesmen, did not attend sessions of parliament, because he limited contacts to a narrow group of friends and supporters. He did not know life, they say, and had to get knowledge only out of books. Perhaps, A. Künzli, Swiss "psychoanalyst", stated his "scorn" for Marx's methods of journalism in the most concentrated form. He says (and he has been quoted in Soviet literature) that Marx had a marked aversion for practice. In addition, "he did not have to bear the burden of journalistic drudgery. He was not a reporter who would be constantly busy in search for news, who would have to attend news conferences and sessions of parliament. He sat at home reading newspapers and books. His articles were historical treatises, rather than reports. Today, in the form they were written, they would be published only in monthly journals. Nobody compelled him politically or ideologically to make concessions to the mass reader".[43]

Every word here is a lie. However, despite the will and intention of the author truth forces its way through these lies. In every way – in line of his publicistic production, character, aims, content and form thereof, and of course, in methods of work – Marx differed fundamentally from the bourgeois journalists around him. He was not in the least like those news hunters who had no principles, who easily changed their views and convictions to please their bosses. These bourgeois journalists chased for news with the help of all kinds, very often impermissible methods. They saw the purpose of their work in higher fees. Künzli and others like him considered them to be "regular" journalists. Marx, of course, was not like them. As to the inventions about Marx being "an aristocrat in journalism" and about not being forced to earn a living by writing articles, this is not true. Anybody who knows his biography will easily catch the bourgeois libellers lying. Very few journalists – contemporaries of Marx – were subjected to such relentless exploitation as he was in the ten years he worked for the editors of the **New York Daily Tribune.** Though he and his family suffered dreadful need, Marx never deviated from his ideological principles.

Marx, indeed, did not use the same news sources that fed most of the bourgeois journalists. Nor did he haunt the thresholds of parliamentary politicians, meet police inspectors or interview bourgeois ministers. But he had sources of information bourgeois reporters could not even dream of. Marx knew life like nobody else. He was bound with thousands of ties with life. He actively participated in the working class and revolutionary democratic movements. He maintained personal contacts and contacts through correspondence with the leaders and members of many proletarian and democratic organisations. As leader of the Cologne Working Men's League and editor of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** Marx lent a keen ear to the voice of the workers. He was the direct opposite of the haughty liberal "leaders" and bourgeois journalists who always tried to emphasise their superiority to the proletarians. F. Loessner, a comrade-in-arms of Marx, used to say:

"Marx attached tremendous importance to meetings and talks with workers. It is worth noting that he sought the company of those who were sincere with him and did not burden him with flattery. He considered it vital to hear the opinion of the workers about the movement. He was prepared at any time to discuss with them crucial political and economic questions. He quickly knew whether they understood these questions in adequate degree. The better they understood these matters the more he was pleased."[44]

All his life Marx developed and strengthened his contacts with the workers and participants in the revolutionary democratic movement.

Karl Marx was always superior to any bourgeois journalist in covering a vast number of facts he received from numerous sources and in examining them from the standpoint of a scientific theory. The latter gave him a unique possibility for knowing the essence and import of current events and for forecasting social development. This advantage was of cardinal importance.

A fundamental feature of Karl Marx's publicistic work was its sound, solid character. Marx never wrote about anything he knew only approximately. To write on a subject he had at least to master its pith. To influence his readers Marx felt he had to bring forth conclusive arguments, to substantiate his propositions and theses. Therefore, he would start writing a scientific work or an article only after he had obtained all the materials he needed, after he had appraised the question and formed his own opinion on it. Marx had every reason to say:

"My views, however they may be judged and however little they may coincide with the interested prejudices of the ruling classes, are the result of conscientious investigation lasting many years."[45]

The sound approach of a scholar did not at all interfere with quick response of the publicist, his desire to cover in his production a development of rapidly advancing contemporary history. The point is that all his life Karl Marx continuously

and regularly collected material. He also continuously and systematically studied it to comprehend, to fathom it. This was work in anticipation, for the future. It constituted a highly important stage in the writing of his works. But this was not work "just in case a need arose for it". It was a purposeful effort. The change in Marx's scientific interests determined the line of his theoretical research – the study of scientific literature, memoirs, notes, documents and the press. The notes he made from the literature he read, detailed synopses of works by historians, economists, statesmen and travellers, the chronological tables he would compile on the history of separate countries and peoples were an important form of collection and accumulation of material. On the one hand, Marx would write out extracts from materials and compile synopses of them, proceeding from his basic interest in history, economics and other sciences. Thus, starting with his stay in Kreuznach in 1843 he studied and made abstracts of literature on the history of the French revolution of the late 18th century. Later the scope of his studies in the history of France expanded in a very great degree. Marx studied literature both bearing on the periods of French history preceding the Great Revolution and on the events that followed it. On the other hand, Marx would collect materials in pursuit of plans for the writing of concrete scientific or polemical works. For instance, he had written out very many excerpts and had compiled a large body of abstracts in connection with the writing of the theoretical-publicistic work "The Civil War in France". When Marx prepared for writing the polemic work "Herr Vogt" he studied a vast volume of documentation, correspondence, memoirs and other literature. Finally, he collected and accumulated materials in the same fashion in pursuit of his intention to write a series of articles or even a single article for a newspaper or journal. Thus, when he decided to forward to the **New York Daily Tribune** several articles on the Eastern question, on the colonial policies of bourgeois governments, Marx studied and made abstracts of books on the history of colonial conquests, the history of the peoples of Asia, Africa and

Latin America written by the German historian Heeren, the English scholars Baxton and Merrivale, the French scholar Bernier and the American scholar Prescott. He carefully read the works on social relations in India and on British colonial rule in that country. The excerpts he had written out from the literature he had read found their place in Marx's articles on the situation in India and later in "Capital".[46]

In 1856 a conflict burst out between Switzerland and Prussia. The latter wanted to retain its feudal power over Neuchatel Canton. When this happened, Karl Marx resumed his study of Prussian history. He drew up a whole manuscript on the theme, in which he included excerpts from works on the history of Prussia with his remarks and comments. He used his thoughts and ideas about the roots of the predatory policy conducted by the Prussian House of Hohenzollern in an article entitled "The Divine Right of the Hohenzollerns". It appeared in **The People's Paper** in 1856 and in the **New York Daily Tribune** in 1857.

In the case of Karl Marx the collection of information for scientific and publicistic work was an intensive process of thought. While writing out excerpts from a work and making abstracts he at the same time appraised the material he read in remarks and comments. On the margin he would bracket passages or put exlamation marks or other symbols of intonation to express his attitude towards the thought in the passage and its author. He would characterise the author's viewpoint, disclosing his political class interests and ambitions. These marginal notes, marks and symbols reflected the immediate response of the political leader and publicist to the material he read. At the same time Marx carried out the initial work on the material – he would appraise it, select passages, collect information in anticipation for use in a scientific treatise or newspaper article. Marx would clarify the point for himself first of all, his purpose being to master the acquired data for use when the need arose. That the process of comprehension of the material read was an active process was evidenced by Marx's peculiar syn-

thetic abstracts. These were the result of comparison and concentration of various literary sources on a given question.

This work enabled Karl Marx to substantiate his materials, to back his propositions with conclusive arguments and prove the conclusions he arrived at. To see that this was so it would be sufficient to take any article or report of his. The present author shall quote only one example for the sake of illustration. In 1856 **The People's Paper** published Karl Marx's article "The House of Lords and the Monument to the Duke of York". It was written in connection with a debate in the House of Lords (upper chamber of the British Parliament) on the proposal to remove the monument to the Duke of York from Waterloo Square in London. Marx quoted the statements of some of the lords who objected to the proposal. The speakers spoke of the duke as a remarkable man who commanded respect, whose personality had been perpetuated in a "sacred monument". After this Marx recreated the life of the "personality". The readers learned the history of a continuous series of mean actions, deceptions, swindles, embezzlement of state funds, military defeats which punctuated the life of His Royal Highness the Prince. Sarcastic comparisons, scathing irony and merciless ridicule helped the publicist to create the image of an incompetent, cowardly general, dishonourable, crafty, cruel and dull-witted "grand" "whose monument would grace a dunghill . . ."[47] In Marx's article the image of the Duke of York was a symbol and embodiment of a whole social group– the aristocratic oligarchy that ruled the country. The article acquired the character of a lampoon.

Karl Marx achieved the effect he desired with the help of his erudition in literature and history. He forged a strong chain of numerous facts shedding light on the duke's deeds. Excerpts from the parliamentary report on the session of the House of Lords disclosed the positions of the parties to the debate. Two quotations from comedy by Shakespeare, reference to Caliban, a character from "The Tempest", a Latin saying coined by Fabius, ancient Roman general called Cunctator (the Delayer), en-

abled the author to give an appraisal of the statements the lords made in Parliament. Marx quoted from an article printed in the **Morning Chronicle,** a paper that used to come out in London in 1808, from three of Cobbet's articles printed in 1806 and 1808, from reports on Parliamentary sessions held in 1809, which discussed the duke's actions. He made reference to an anonymous lampoon which had appeared in London in 1808 and cited figures proving that the "character" was corrupt (he used to sell officers' commissions). The facts concentrated in the article incontrovertibly proved the conclusion the author arrived at: namely, that the lords who spoke at the debate and who joined hands to defend the honour of the Duke of York – these statesmen of Britain had not gone far from their "August idol". Marx wrote: "The worshippers are worthy of the saint."[48]

One should not think that Karl Marx always precipitated on the reader all the power of his erudition. This depended on the task he set himself, on the aim he wished to achieve. As a veteran warrior he used different weapons to fight different opponents. In cases like the above he would use factual material stocked up in advance, the whole arsenal of his satire. In other cases he would only quote from documents and accompany the quotations with his comments. In writing his article on "The Conditions of Factory Workers", which appeared in the **New York Daily Tribune** in April 1857, Marx set forth the reports of British factory inspectors, quoted from them and gave his comments. These materials provided invaluable information. In still other cases he would employ the weapon of statistical analysis, would study, compare and analyse figures characterising the state budget or the economic conditions of a country. Finally, if he was faced with the task of quickly informing the public on an important political event, of helping the readers understand its meaning and import and of suggesting a mode of action, Marx – the publicist – would limit himself to a quick report.

It is quite understandable that work for a newspaper called for quick response. This meant that Marx had less time

for the preparation and writing of an article, that he was confronted with additional difficulties. The time limit imposed on the journalist is a feature of newspaper work. This naturally entered into contradiction with Marx's desire to develop the theme in depth and from various angles. That was why, as distinguished from Engels, Marx was a slow writer. Writing was a hard process for him. Engels, on the contary, was always ready to get down to his desk to write, with apparent ease, a clean copy of an article or a report on some theme. Marx humorously characterised Engels as "a veritable walking encyclopedia". "He's capable," Marx remarked, "drunk or sober, of working at any hour of the day or night, is a fast writer and devilish **quick.**" This reflected Marx's admiration for the publicistic abilities of his friend.

Marx's own method of work was different. He would repeatedly change and rewrite his articles and notes. He would thoroughly correct every sentence. The author shall quote an example to illustrate how he worked on "The Civil War in France" printed in June 1871. Work on this distinguished production of scientific communism went on for nearly two months. As soon as the Paris Commune was proclaimed on March 18, Karl Marx began to collect and study materials on it. He gathered clippings from the papers, wrote out excerpts from French, German and English periodical publications. In the latter half of April he proceeded with work on the first version–an outline of the whole material–to complete it by May 10. The result failing to satisfy him, he wrote a second outline version to finish it by the middle of May. It was only after these preliminaries that Marx got down to the writing of the final text of "The Civil War in France"–the Appeal of the General Council, International Working Men's Association–the I International. At this stage he used his notes and clippings on the last week of the Commune's existence. Two days after the last barricade of the Communards fell, i.e. on May 30, 1871, Marx read out to the General Council of the International the finished text of the Appeal.

It was precisely during his work as a publicist and editor at the **Rheinische Zeitung** and later at the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** that Karl Marx developed such exacting demands to the finish of his works. He did the job thoroughly, regardless of the effort he had to put into it. This became a feature of his work in the scientific sphere. He advanced it to a degree that plunged Friedrich Engels into despair. Engels thought Marx was too "scrupulous,"[50] too exacting to himself and his work. Despite his thoroughness and slowness in producing publicistic works, Marx, when the need arose, could complete, in a few hours, with utmost speed, a brilliant piece of writing "directly for the issue." The articles "June Revolution," "The Police Suppress the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung**" and the lampoon "The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty" were a case in point. There were instances when he would produce two or three articles and notes for a single issue. This was a striking example of how a publicist could concentrate his creative efforts and abilities to surmount some of the specifics of his mode of work on a publication.

It should be mentioned that the constant need to increase the rate of his work in the newspaper, which prevented him from achieving the degree of perfection he always wanted caused Marx to voice his displeasure. No wonder he complained in a letter to Adolf Cluss that "perpetual hackwork for the newspapers" which tore him away from his scientific pursuits "is tiresome".[51]

Let us try to find out what was it that prevented Karl Marx from writing quickly and with ease. The present author believes that the features characterising his publicistic style were the direct result and a manifestation of his universal genius, his unique ability to see and know the world in all its diversity and complexity. He tried to show this complexity and diversity in his publicistic work without missing a single facet or a single connection. To accomplish this task, time–a lot of time–was needed. Speaking about Marx Paul Lafargue said:

"I had an opportunity to observe his manner of thinking

and writing. Work was easy and at the same time difficult for him: easy because every time he had a theme to work on the entire wealth of facts and considerations appeared before his mind's eye; but it was precisely this wealth of facts and considerations that made exhaustive presentation of his ideas more difficult and required a lot of time . . .''[52]

Paul Lafargue believed that the literary work of such writers as Flaubert and Goncourt, who complained about it being difficult to reproduce in words what they saw was child's play as compared to Karl Marx's creative process. The reason was that Marx wanted to reproduce in his scientific and publicistic works the life of the world in all of its varied, constantly changing actions and counteractions, and not merely the superficial impression of his vision. To obtain such a profound understanding of reality he had to be endowed with unusual brain power. And to convey what he saw and what he wanted to say he had to develop a rare skill. That was why Marx was never satisfied with his work. He always made changes in it subsequently. He constantly found that the presentation never reached the degree of perfection of his thought.

The universal character of Karl Marx's dialectical thought caused him to see the social process or concrete situation he examined in whole and at the same time with all their details, interconnections and interactions. Therefore, on the one hand, he sought to reflect in his publicistic work all that he saw without loss, and on the other, he realised that he had to limit the size of his contribution to meet the requirements of the newspaper or journal. Wilhelm Liebknecht pointed out that people would rebuke Marx for squeezing maximum content into minimum words.[53] It appears that his attempts to find a way out of this contradiction prompted him to produce thematic serials and cycles of articles.

There was still another circumstance that distinguished Karl Marx from all journalists before him and his contemporaries. Just like Friedrich Engels he was the first to proceed in his journalistic and publicistic activities from the general philoso-

phical-methodological fundamentals of the Marxist theory. In doing so he was guided by his views on the role, importance and specifics of proletarian journalism, on the requirements he himself presented to the proletarian publicist. Having developed the theory of historical materialism Marx and Engels managed to concretise its proposition with respect to various spheres of social life. Having examined the character of journalism in an antagonistic class society, such as capitalist society, Marx and Engels analysed the specific features characterising the principal class types of journalism–proletarian and bourgeois journalism.

In his work as a publicist Karl Marx proceeded from this knowledge and the practical experience he acquired. In the history of journalism he was the first publicist to work in his sphere with really scientific knowledge of his social role and tasks, with a sense of responsibility as a writer who "may very well serve a movement of history as its mouthpiece".[54] In presenting to communist publicists such high requirements, because they were people doing a job of honour in the forefront[55], Marx showed by his personal publicistic works that he lived up to the standards he himself had set.

Chapter III

Fundamentals of a creative method

1. From Fact to Thought

What are the main features that characterise the creative process of Karl Marx, the publicist? What was his method for examining life and for the reflection of life in publicistic works?

To put it briefly Karl Marx's method in publicistic work was the same method he used in knowledge of reality, and in his scientific work. It was the method of materialist dialectics. As Friedrich Engels put it, materialist dialectics "comprehends things and their representations in their essential connection, concatenation, motion, origin and ending".[1] Having developed materialist dialectics the founders of Marxism produced a universal method of knowledge which forms a philosophical basis in all spheres of theory and practice. At the same time they pointed to the specifics of its application depending on the aims and tasks a man sets himself. Already in an early work of his Marx wrote that the method of investigation depended on the character of the object of research. He posed the following rhetorical question:

"Ought the **character of the object** have no influence, not even the slightest, on the investigation?"

He further asked:

"And should not the manner of investigation alter according to object?"[2]

Marx developed this idea further in later years too. In "Capital" he pointed to the dependence of the method of investigation and reflection of reality on the aim which, "like the law", determined the mode and character of man's actions[3]. It follows that the specifics of journalism, its aims and tasks, the

specifics of the object it reflects and its role in society conditioned the specific features of the method Marx used in his publicistic work.

It is understood that the general laws of dialectics also determined the character of this creative work. These are **concrete** and **historical** approach to all facts and phenomena, examination thereof in developments and in the process of establishment–in the making. **Systematic** approach to social facts, analysis thereof in all of their interconnections and interactions, in a whole system, these interconnections and interactions being elements thereof. The publicist adhering to a **party, class** view, he invariably seeks to establish the importance and essence of a fact from a definite party position. These features formed the immutable aspects of Karl Marx's creative method in publicistic activity. In reflecting life in his work he used the same special and general scientific method in research. They were the same methods he applied with success in his theoretical works. Methods of analysis, synthesis and comparison were reliable instruments which enabled him to secure aims he had set himself in the sphere of publicistic creative work. The process of thought of the publicist proceeded in keeping with the same laws which governed this process in the case of the scholar. At the same time Marx did not identify in whole the method of journalistic work with the method of scientific knowledge. As he saw it, what distinguished the two was the difference in the depth in the investigation of facts, in the degree to which the results of the analysis and generalisation were abstracted, and in the forms of reflection and presentation of knowledge.

Marx, the publicist, applied in principle the same methods of knowledge to examine concrete facts and situations which have bearing above all on a definite sphere of social life, namely politics. However, the propositions and conclusions he arrived at were not so general, were not of the same scale. They were always bound to definite–historical, social and time–conditions. The main point here was: in order that these propositions and conclusions should persuade a big, mass audience, in

order that they should be understood by all the readers, they should be confirmed by convincing concrete facts and examples. Way back in August 1842 Marx wrote: "A correct theory should be explained and developed to meet the concrete conditions, on the basis of the current state of affairs."[4] In 1849 he again emphasised this idea, when he spoke of the need to strengthen the concrete character of critical articles printed in the German revolutionary press. He proposed to criticise the concrete advocates of the existing relations, the concrete personalities in power[5], and not merely these relations in "general".

In Karl Marx's opinion, it was the **concrete** character of a publicistic investigation and its results that could exercise an influence on the mass audience. It was only in this way that a publicist could appeal to the feelings and mind of the reader, even if he is not always duly prepared for this. The reason is that only ideas, general theses and conclusions he can understand, theses and conclusions disclosed to him on the basis of vivid facts and confirmed by convincing examples will influence him.

In Karl Marx's view another feature that characterised the method of work of the publicist was his dependence on the time factor. In his work "The Holy Family" he mentioned the role of time in the process of intellectual production. He wrote that not only the volume and arrangement, but also the character of the work depended on the time. He raised the rhetorical question:

"And even as far as **intellectual** production is concerned, must I not, if I proceed reasonably in other respects, consider the time necessary for the production?"[6] He noticed that the time factor was valid for all spheres of intellectual production–for science, artistic creativity and publicistic work. Those who choose to ignore the dependence of intellectual production on the time factor risk, as Marx put it, at least that the object that is in the idea will never become an object in reality[7]. In other words, a writer will either fail to produce his work or will

complete it, when nobody needs it, i.e. when the need for it has ceased to exist. The limited time factor is a characteristic feature of journalistic work. The time the publicist has at his disposal is limited to a far greater degree than the time of a person working in any other field of intellectual production.

Friedrich Engels later enlarged on Karl Marx's idea about the role of the time factor in journalism. He pointed out that the strict limitation of time logically limited the depth and scope of a study in publicism. While mentioning the useful aspects of journalism which compelled the author to complete a concrete job by a certain deadline, Engels also pointed to aspects and consequences which were negative from a scholar's point of view. Journalism, Engels wrote, tended to push the journalist to the surface because, owing to lack of time, he was compelled to deal in haste with matters that he had not yet completely mastered[8]. As a result, the journalist is not in a position to reflect reality with the same depth and thoroughness as a scholar.

The present author would like to note that this law-governed thesis is violated only in special cases, and a case in point were the publicistic works written by the founders of Marxism. If the publicist is at the same time a scholar, if a journalistic work is produced as an organic continuation of the scholar's scientific work, if the publication of an article is preceded by constant collection of facts and comprehension thereof, a publicistic work will be characterised by practically the same depth and scope of analysis of concrete facts and situations that would be typical of a theoretical work.

In addition, the founders of Marxism themselves established another feature of journalism and its method. This feature compensated to a certain degree the depth to which reality could be studied owing to shortage of time. This feature is the ininterrupted functioning of journalism as a social institution. Its effect consists in its constant, uninterrupted interference in life and in constant, uninterrupted study of life by the publicist.

Over a period of two decades, from 1842 to 1862, Karl

Marx was constantly engaged in journalistic-publicistic work. During some periods he worked as a journalist-publicist day in, day out. As a result he produced a vast panorama of contemporary life with the help of publicistic means. This panorama vividly showed in images the manifestations and operation of laws governing social development. He examined these laws in his scientific works.

Finally, the founders of Marxism also mentioned still another important feature of journalism, namely the possibility of using scientific and artistic methods to know and reflect life. In 1843 Karl Marx wrote:

"The attitude of the press to the people's conditions of life is based on **reason,** but it is equally based on feeling".[9]

The publicist studies life like a researcher applying all the methods of scientific knowledge to express the results of his work in ideas and concepts. He can also use the artistic method for knowledge of life and for its reflection with the help of images. That is the way all real publicists of the past used to work and all real publicists of the present work today. That was precisely how Karl Marx worked. His publicistic practice most effectively proves the validity of this idea.

Induction (which in practice always operated together with deduction) played an important role in the process of Karl Marx's publicistic work. Marx proceeded from the factual basis of publicism, from its documentary basis. In an early article of his, which was printed way back in 1842 he mentioned the interest of the press in new facts and new ideas.[10] He further pointed out:

"It stands to reason that fact does not preclude thought any more than thought precludes fact."[11]

They are interconnected, without fact there can be no thought, no material on life for generalisations and conclusions. Marx asserted that the event was an embodiment of people's thoughts. Here he emphasised the importance of reports on facts and events to the life of society, when they appeared in the periodical press.[12] It should be noted that Marx very soon

abandoned the Hegelian speculative approach to the fact only as a reflection, as a manifestation of an abstract idea, of universal reason. He regarded the fact as an element of reality. Unless you study the fact as an elementary particle, as an atom of social reality, as a concrete manifestation of its development at a given moment, you will be unable to know the phenomena and processes which determine the life of society. In Marx's view the real fact was an object of study in a publicistic work, a basis, material for analysis and generalisation. That was why, in his opinion, the publicist should invariably proceed in his work from facts. He himself set an example by using this method of knowledge and reflection of life. In a letter he wrote in June 1856 to A. Ironside, editor of the **Free Press,** a newspaper published in London, Marx pointed out that he did not adhere to the conventional procedure in writing a publicistic work. In dealing with a theme he did not start with general deliberations, but on the contrary, he immediately came to grips with facts. He wrote that, in contrast to the conventional manner of historians, he would start this work not with general discussions, but with facts.[13]

As far as Karl Marx was concerned, the role of facts in publicistic works was determined by their character. The facts he used in his articles and reports could be divided into two groups. The first group included so-called empirical (the term is, of course, a conditional one) facts, and the second group– scientific or theoretical facts. Empirical facts were events, processes of social, above all political, life, which occurred in real, "visible" form. The publicist could know them both with the help of his senses, i.e. observe them, and also with the help of reports made by other people, by the press etc. As a rule, an empirical fact reflected a moment in changing reality. It was directly connected with the given period. The "current history" the publicist studied and reflected was an infinite chain of such facts. The overwhelming majority of Karl Marx's publicistic works are based on empirical facts. In most cases he would use an empirical fact as a pretext for writing an article. Many of

Marx's publications, particularly those that appeared during the tense periods of the revolution in Germany, when he as a publicist was charged with the task of presenting reports on current political events, were brief accounts on facts accompanied by a concise commentary. In writing these Marx was aware of the effect they produced on the readers, even if they were "concise" and simple reports quickly conveying to the audience a certain quantity of social information.

Since an empirical fact is an element of social reality, the founders of Marxism believed it was possible to know reality by simple "reproduction" of facts. By giving a **"simple** relation of facts"[14] the publicist produced an information pattern. Once the reader was familiarised with it, he got an initial idea about what was happening in the world.

In other cases Karl Marx would use an empirical fact as a pretext for conducting a comprehensive publicistic analysis and for making generalisations. Thus, a report on the introduction of "worker's cards" for proletarians by the capitalists of Cologne prompted him to write an article entitled "Bourgeois Document." In it he commented on all the items listed in the "worker's card" to disclose the essence and purposes of the policy the German bourgeoisie pursued in quest for political power. When the **Kölnische Zeitung** (a bourgeois paper of Cologne) published a paid advertisement urging the workers to vote for bourgeois liberals to the National Assembly, Marx took advantage of it to write two articles under the same title "Montesquieu LVI." It should be mentioned that the author of the advertisement grossly distorted the fundamentals of political economy, demagogically asserting that the capitalist and the proletarian were equals. In his articles Marx gave a brilliant analysis of the policy conducted by the bourgeoisie. Marx wrote:

"The commercial and industrial sections of the bourgeoisie throw themselves into the arms of the counter-revolution for fear of the revolution"[15] thus betraying the interests of its own class.

Sometimes a fact that Karl Marx used for writing an article would be reported in the first installment. The second installment would contain an analysis of this fact. Late in February 1849 the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** carried the text of the King's speech Friedrich-Wilhelm IV d livered. The speech was preceded by a brief preface written by Marx to disclose its meaning. On the following day the paper carried a continuation of the publication which was a detailed commentary Marx wrote to the main theses of the King's speech.

Quite often Karl Marx would explain in detail the significance of the fact he used in his publication. In this case it was no longer a mere pretext for writing the article or a report, it formed the foundation for the logical analysis, discussion and proof the author provided. The basic fact would be supported by other similar facts and details. However, it would continue to be the pivot of the article, because the publicist would constantly refer to it, showing up more and more of its facets. Karl Marx's article "A New Year Greeting" which appeared in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** on January 9, 1849 was a case in point. Marx wrote it in connection with the New Year message of King Friedrich-Wilhelm IV to the Prussian army. Marx used this fact to show in detail the role played by the Prussian war machine as a reliable weapon of the counter-revolution. In answering the question about the reasons for the royal congratulations Marx quoted in his article several facts testifying to the incompetence of the Prussian generals, the cowardice displayed by the soldiers, their cruelty towards a weak and unarmed enemy and the civilian population. He repeatedly referred to the New Year greeting of the king to accompany it with merciless and sarcastic comments.

Karl Marx used empirical facts to illustrate his theses. He referred to them as arguments in proof of his conclusions. He demanded that articles, critical articles particularly, should provide conclusive proof. He pointed out that such proof was impossible, unless it was backed by facts. In July 1848 Marx exposed a new reactionary bill of the Prussian government on

the press. He wrote that, if enacted, it would deprive the press of the possibility to quote facts to prove its assertions and accusations. He pointed out that the press "Will be allowed merely to **speak** in general **phrases** so that well-meaning people . . . will have the right to say that the press is merely **reviling** and is not **proving** anything".[16]

Scientific facts are above all propositions, theses and conclusions of theory in the fields of history, biology, mathematics and other sciences, whose validity has been proved by practice. They include data and information reflected in literature, the press or documents, which are results of scientific analysis or analysis of empirical facts (registered in reality), carried out by publicists.

Karl Marx used scientific facts for the same purpose. Just as in the case of empirical facts he would take advantage of scientific facts to write up a publicistic work. The scientific facts he used in it would form its basis. A case in point is his articles "Wage Labour and Capital". They were built up on explanations of the theory of political economy of capitalism. When he wrote the article on the increasing number of insane people in England, Marx started with the presentation of conclusion of the political economy of capitalism. He stated that in the history of British society there was no fact established with greater accuracy than the fact of the growth of wealth during the current period corresponding to the growth of pauperism.[17] The whole article supports this thesis and concretises it on the basis of statistics showing the mounting rate of insanity in England. In Marx's publicistic work scientific facts play the role of arguments to prove the truth of his statements. To this end he quoted many figures.

An analysis of Marx's publicistic work reveals a very interesting tendency: the ratio of empirical to scientific facts steadily changed with time in favour of the latter. This did not mean that Marx gradually abandoned empirical facts. As in the past they continued to play an important role in his articles. But Marx combined them more and more with scientific facts. He

backed the analysis of empirical facts with theoretical propositions, statistical data, conclusions formulated in scientific literature. The present author believes that this is by no means a fortuitous tendency. It was apparently rooted in his deepening research in history and political economy. The development of Marxist theory of political economy, the theory of historical materialism exercised an increasing influence on Marx's publicistic works. It was manifested in his mounting interest in scientific facts in this field of activity.

Having decided upon a theme for an article Karl Marx would start collecting facts and accumulating material. This was the first necessary stage in the writing of a publicistic work. Depending on the aim of the work and largely on the character of the facts Marx resorted to a variety of methods for collection of facts.

Karl Marx found many empirical facts by reading various kinds of literature–theoretical works, memoirs, official and unofficial documents. The "Blue Books" which published the materials of the British Parliament and the Foreign Office, the Hansard "Parliamentary Proceedings" which came out in London, the verbatim reports of the proceedings in the lower and upper chambers appearing in the **Times** were constant sources of facts on the home and foreign policy of the British government. The members of Parliament regularly received the reports of factory inspectors on the conditions at the country's industrial enterprises. Marx found in them superb material on the exploitation of British proletarians, on the employment of female and child labour.

When the need arose, Karl Marx resorted to auxiliary fact collecting methods which are known today as concrete social studies. He applied them for the first time late in 1842-early in 1843, because the **Rheinische Zeitung** published two articles by the reporter Coblenz who gave an insight into the dreadful conditions of the Mosel grape growers. Von Schaper, Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, forwarded to the editors a letter accusing the Mosel reporter of libel. He demanded factual confir-

mation of the reporter's statements. When it turned out that Coblenz was unable to write a convincing answer, Marx undertook to do the job. He organised the collection of factual material to build a foundation of empirical and theoretical facts. This foundation was to make the conclusions incontrovertible.

Marx wrote:

"We wish to construct our exposition solely on factual material."[18]

Since the editors were entering into polemics with a high standing official, they paid special attention to the study of such documents as decrees, instructions and other orders of the government and the local authorities that had bearing on the relations with the peasants of the Mosel area. To support the official information "letters explaining one another"[19] were collected. This meant that personal documents were studied too. The editors collected a wealth of information by interviewing many persons about the talks high standing members of the administration had with local officials, and also about the clashes of the latter with the peasants.

The materials collected with the help of these unconventional methods formed the basis of an article on the acquittal of the Mosel reporter. But the importance of this article was far greater than that of a formal reply to von Schaper. A detailed analysis of the conditions of the Mosel peasants was used only as a pretext for the criticism of the very foundations of the Prussian state. That was the opinion the government expressed. The censors stopped the publication of the three last installments of Karl Marx's article (out of its five installments only two appeared in print). The publication of these articles was used as an excuse to suppress the paper. The authorities being unable to refute Marx's arguments which were supported by a wealth of factual material, they decided to take recourse to force and to close down the printed organ of the revolutionary democrats. The authorities were obviously frightened by the exposures. This is evidenced by a statement von Schaper made

(and which reached us) about the third installment that never appeared in print. He said:

"When the author at long last sent his article entitled 'Ailments of the Mosel Province' to the censors, it turned out that he had first travelled over the greater part of the valley of the Mosel. He was busy collecting information on the conflicts that had long been settled and forgotten–conflicts between the officials and inhabitants. His purpose was to bring to god's light all these facts and to present them as an illustration of how the people of the Mosel valley are oppressed."[20]

Marx had hardly collected all that he needed for the reply to the Oberpräsident himself. But as N. I. Lapin remarked, he was the author of the programme for the collection of this material and for its theoretical analysis.[21] The concrete social study Marx conducted was a "powerful catalyst" in the development of his political, philosophical, historical and legal views. In particular, this manifested itself in his attitude to facts he used in his publicistic work. Having constructed his presentation on facts, he decided to draw from them not only particular, but also general fundamental theoretical conclusions[22]. Later, Marx successfully applied the methods of concrete social studies in his publicistic activity.

In collecting facts for a publication Karl Marx presented clear-cut requirements to them. One of the main requirements was that they should be **recent, new** facts. In a discussion on the character of various periodical publications held way back in 1842 he mentioned the interest in **new** ideas and facts. In his opinion, both an idea and a fact must bring the reader new information on the changes constantly occurring in the life of man and society. Only such ideas and facts could be used in publicism.

Another criterion which Marx considered vital for determining the role of a fact in publicism was its **social value.** Already in the early articles he wrote for the **Rheinische Zeitung** Marx pointed out that in journalism not all facts were important. Only socially significant facts which kindled a lively inter-

est in social-political life[23] and reports which could "make a particular interest a general one"[24] could be effectively used in journalism. Way back in those days he made a brilliant conjecture about the principle which should govern the collection and selection of facts and about the appraisal of facts in journalism. He said that wrong thinking **inevitably** and **involuntarily** produced wrong facts, therefore, producing distortion and lies. This statement about the decisive role of the publicist's world outlook contains the rudiment of Marx's criticism of the essence and weaknesses inherent in bourgeois journalism. Later Marx developed this criticism on broad lines. As Marx put it, if a publicist was characterised by wrong thinking and if his world outlook was fallacious, they would cause him not only to take recourse to lies, to fabricate "facts", but also to distort real facts, to misrepresent them and to select wrong facts. With the emergence and development of scientific communism Karl Marx's idea was deepened and enriched. It found a qualitatively new expression in the ideas of the class and party character of journalism and publicism, in ideas about the need to present facts in the light of a scientific theory.

It was important to Karl Marx to establish whether the fact was a fortuitous one or whether it disclosed the essence of a definite social process, of a certain tendency in the life of society, whether an event was of a particular character or whether it was a typical one which was connected with many other events like it. In his opinion, facts that did not reflect the cardinal trend in social development might produce a sensation. And the bourgeois press was always hunting for sensations. In his article "Debates on the Freedom of the Press" Marx gave a detailed characteristic of facts used for purposes of sensationalism in the bourgeois press. He wrote:

"It is the malicious gloating which extracts tittle-tattle and personalities from the great life of the peoples, ignores historical reason and serves up to the public only the scandals of history."[25]

When Marx was only a beginner in journalism, he exhibi-

ted striking intuition in grasping the essence of sensationalism in the bourgeois press. Ignoring the laws governing social development, disregarding facts expressing the essence and character of processes in social life, the bourgeois press concentrated the attention of its readers on secondary, accidental phenomena, "tittle-tattle" in an attempt to distort the true picture of what was happening in the world, to conceal the sharpening social antagonisms and class struggle in capitalist society. Marx remarked that a bourgeois journalist was capable of printing a leading article three columns long on a single case of rape,[26] but at the same time could remain silent about the convocation of the Labour Parliament–congress of Chartists in Manchester.[27] Only proceeding from the scientifically sound Marxist theory and applying the class approach to facts and events of social life, a communist journalist can correctly appraise them and comprehend their true value.

Karl Marx's third criterion in the appraisal of facts collected for a publicistic work was their **authenticity.** This demand of Karl Marx should be emphasised. The reason for this is that certain bourgeois ideologists tried to accuse him of distorting the historical truth. Thus, R. Pain claimed that many of Marx's publicistic works, in particular "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", had nothing to do with history, because they were fantastic improvisation.[28]

The way bourgeois journalists and their learned advocates understand the term authenticity of facts is not applicable to Karl Marx's publicistic works. He gave no information on the personal lives of titled personalities or reports on bank robberies. However, his works contain a wealth of facts reflecting the process of plunder of the popular masses by banks. These facts characterised the consequences of the relentless exploitation of the proletarians by the capitalists. The role of publicist Marx assumed to express and defend the interests of the working class, and also to promote the ideas of scientific communism made it binding on him scrupulously to adhere to the truth both in his scientific works and publicistic writings. The truth

of communist publicism consists in objective reflection of reality, in the establishment of the whole truth and open presentation of this truth to the masses of people. Objectiveness is not objectivism, i.e. impassive registration of facts lying on life's surface.

Soviet historians have already drawn attention to this distinctive feature of Karl Marx's publicistic works. It manifested itself in organic combination of objective analysis of the events being studied, truthful reflection of all elements essential for understanding their course and role with an overtly party approach to selection of facts and with special attention to aspects of the event in question, which, owing to definite political reasons, were of the greatest interest to the proletarian party and the readers from among the workers. In his presentation Marx singled out those aspects of events which most effectively helped secure party aims. All the rest he would discard. However, his publicistic work taken together (covering a certain period) reveal a complete picture of events.

From the beginning of their socio-political activity Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels regarded truthfulness as an inherent feature of progressive, revolutionary democratic and especially of proletarian journalism. Their concept of truthfulness and authenticity had undergone certain changes. In the article "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel" Marx decided to prove that the reports on the conditions of the Mosel winemakers were true. Marx pointed to the need for the revolutionary democratic press to give "an approximately correct **equation**",[29] i.e. objectively and truthfully to reflect the whole. He wrote: "The press is obliged to reveal the **general state of affairs**".[30] As far as he was concerned the report should be faithful to the general character of the reality being reflected– "the truth of life", as we understand it today. At the same time he did not forget about accurate reflection of reality. The factual side of the report, i.e. all the details, should correspond to the real course of events. He wrote that, "if such proof is given", i.e. if the publicistic representation corresponds to the ob-

ject in general, in whole, "the question is no longer one of the **truth**, but only of precision of language".[31] Thus, here it is a question of the report being "true to fact". However, Marx is opposed to precision in journalism in the literal meaning. He was opposed to the demand that every word in a speech should be reproduced. He maintained that the main thing was to render correctly the meaning, the message of the speech.

The founders of Marxism paid serious attention to the factual accuracy of a publicistic work. This, obviously, expressed their view to the effect that "truth to life" was impossible without "truth to fact", without factual accuracy of a report on an event. In studying the bourgeois press and carefully following the development of the proletarian press they were sensitive to any distortion of the truth, to any factual inaccuracy in printed materials. Pointing to the main weakness of the printed statements his political opponents made he would remark: "**It is untrue, actually untrue** . . ."[32] He would show how they distorted facts or even invented what never existed in reality.

Only persistent and uninterrupted work, thorough checking and rechecking of all data enabled the publicist to avoid actual mistakes, to achieve maximum accuracy in representation of reality. Karl Marx's works are a model in this respect. Paul Lafargue recalled that he always worked with "great conscientiousness. Every fact, every figure he quoted were always supported by references to the most outstanding authorities. He would not be satisfied with second-hand reports. Regardless of the difficulties he would get to the prime source himself. Even if it was a fact of secondary importance he would hurry to the British Museum to check it in the Museum Library. Marx's literary conscience was just as strict as his scientific conscience. He would never refer to a fact he was not sure of. More than that, he would not mention a subject, unless he had thoroughly studied it beforehand."[33]

Karl Marx presented the same demands to other journalists who worked for the papers and journals he edited. As editor of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** he would thoroughly check

the authenticity of the reports. If anything gave rise to doubt, the publication would be laid aside till the accuracy of facts was checked. Marx would reject the services of correspondents whose reports were not true to fact. If the paper ever made a mistake, the editors would immediately take measures to rectify it. In such cases they would be guided by Marx's idea which he expressed as follows: "I think it is better when the newspaper is its own doctor".[34] The mistake would be corrected, a letter or report would be published with amendments of wrong data. For instance, that was the case, when the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** published in July 1848 a report of its Paris correspondent. He averred that George Sand, French novelist, had documentary proof of Bakunin's contacts with the tsarist government. Bakunin asked George Sand to refute this slander. He published his letter in the **Neue Oder Zeitung.** Without waiting for Bakunin's request the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** reprinted his statement and the letter. It did so to show that it did not share the view of its own correspondent. The paper then published George Sand's letter to Marx refuting the libel. Thus, the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** corrected the error originated through the fault of its correspondent. Marx was particularly scrupulous about such things. This is evidenced by the fact that a long time later, in 1858, when the English bourgeois press tried to cast a shadow on Bakunin by referring to this event, Marx published in the **Morning Advertiser** a letter giving the details of the case and showing the falseness of the accusations against the Russian revolutionary.

It is obvious that the facts as such form, so to say, the material foundation for a publicistic work by Karl Marx. But he could achieve the aims he set himself only through an analysis of the facts he collected and a subsequent synthesis of the results obtained. Engels wrote: "Without analysis, no synthesis".[35] Thinking comprises in equal degree both the breaking up of objects of the intellect into their elements and the combining of connected elements into a certain whole.

Collection of facts is only a precondition for publicistic

analysis, provision of initial material for analysis. However, the analysis begins with the selection of facts for the future article. Out of a multitude of facts he always had at hand Karl Marx would select only the indispensable ones. The criteria he would be guided by were the same as those for collection. That is the fact must be new, it must have social value, it must be true and be characterised by topicality. He used these requirements as a "sieve". Out of a mass of facts he would retain only those whose analysis would offer the best possibilities for the understanding of a concrete situation or phenomenon.

It was not fortuitous and in formulating in the **Deutsch-Französiche Jahrbücher** the tasks of philosophy and revolutionary democratic publicistic works Karl Marx made it imperative to analyse critically the facts of Germany's contemporary political reality [36]. In a letter Engels wrote K. Schmidt in 1889, i.e. nearly half a century later, he emphasised the same idea on the role of analysis in the knowledge of reality. He pointed out that " . . . only a clear theoretical analysis could show the right way in the maze of facts."[37] This idea is of methodological value for the publicist.

What role did analysis play in Karl Marx's publicistic works? How did Marx break up objects of the intellect into their elements? We know the features characterising his creative method in publicism, and it is these features that determined his analysis, namely the party approach, historical, concrete and systematic character.

The party approach to analysis was expressed in the fact that Karl Marx always conducted it from definite proletarian party positions, proceeding from the theses of his sciencific theory. It was, therefore, a really scientific analysis.

The historical character of analysis meant that Karl Marx always sought to give the history of the fact in his publicistic work. His purpose here was to disclose the preconditions for and causes of its origin, to show how it developed, the results this process led to, its course and tendency. Quite often the analysis would be crowned with a peculiar publicistic forecast.

Having established the tendencies in the development of facts Marx would state an opinion on the possible course of events, the lines on which the given situation would be resolved.

The historical character of Karl Marx's publicistic analysis is inseparable from its concreteness. In his works Marx invariably analysed concrete political and economic situations, facts and events produced by definite historical circumstances at a definite stage of social development. Such analysis was the crowning stage of the ascent from the abstract to the concrete which was typical of Marx's scientific method. In his theoretical works he established the essence and general qualities of social phenomena and processes. In doing so he analysed in his publicistic works the concrete historical specifics of these phenomena and processes, which were conditioned by the definite social-economic capitalist formation.

The historical and concrete character of Marx's publicistic analysis was inseparable from another vital feature. Let us call it conditionally graduality or step by step character. Seeking to get to the bottom of facts Karl Marx conducted analysis gradually, step by step, so to say, from one "stratum" to another, deeper one. He proceeded from perception of the surface, the "appearance" of a fact or event to the establishment of its features as an element, as an aspect of a phenomen, then to the understanding of the fact as an essential, law-governed manifestation of an underlying social process. Thus, in analysing the events of political life in England and other European countries in the 1850s his ultimate aim was to disclose the role of economic processes as their basis and prime cause.

And finally, Karl Marx's publicistic analysis was of a systematic character. This meant that he never examined a fact in isolation from the context of reality. He grasped it as an element of a definite system–whether big or small–with all of its connections and interconnections with other facts and events similar to it or different from it. He approached a fact from different angles to disclose and show more and more of its contacts and connections with the surrounding world and its

place in the system of other facts. Soviet philosophers drew attention to the fact that Marx would examine one and the same phenomenon from two angles–from the standpoint of its qualitative nature and from that of its qualitative specifics. In the beginning he would disclose the phenomen's general, functional or structural quality and then its concrete-historical, system modification.[38] In other words, Marx sought to establish the concrete-historical specifics of the fact or event as an element of the concrete situation and at the same time as an element of the big social system, i.e. capitalist society or part of a major social process.

However, as Karl Marx saw it, analysis of facts was not an end in itself in publicism. This analysis found its matural continuation in the next stage of fact examination–in their synthesis, comprehension, generalisation and in the drawing of pertinent conclusions from them. The general laws governing the process of thought and knowledge, which the founders of Marxism established and formulated, remain valid also in the sphere of journalistic and publicistic work. Here too analysis is continued by synthesis in a law-governed manner. The inductive method of knowledge is necessarily connected with the deductive method. Already in their work "The German Ideology" Marx and Engels wrote about the role synthesis played in scientific knowledge. They stated:

"At the best its place can only be taken by a summing-up of the most general results, abstractions which arise from the observation of the historical development of men."[39]

This idea had direct bearing on publicistic works too. However, it is true that the use of synthesis in publicism and science, as we know, differs as far as the specifics go.

The founders of Marxism persistently pointed to the need to rely, in conducting synthesis, on the results of a profound preliminary analysis of facts. This explains why they demanded concreteness in criticism in the press. They maintained that excessive abstraction would inevitably divorce the publicist's conclusions from the material of his analysis, lead him to un-

founded deductions and would thus weaken the effect of his address. In a letter Karl Marx wrote to D. Oppenheim in August 1842, he sharply criticised a series of articles by the Young Hegelian E. Bauer, which appeared in the **Rheinische Zeitung** under the title "Juste Milieu" (Golden Mean) in the summer of the same year. What precipitated the criticism was not only the weak content of the articles, the author's lack of a positive programme, but also their declaratory character and empty theorisation.[40]

In the eyes of the founders of Marxism, analysis of facts was a reliable instrument which prevented the publicist from indulging in abstract logical deductions which resulted in conclusions being divorced from reality. In Marx's case analysis and synthesis in knowledge of life were a real art. Commenting on this Paul Lafargue wrote:

"Marx comprehended the essence of things. He saw not only the surface, he penetrated into them, he examined the component parts in their interaction and in their intercounteraction. He would single out each of these component parts to study the history of its development. Departing from the thing he would go over to the observation of the medium (environment) to study its effect on the former and vice versa. He would then return to the object, to the changes, evolutions and revolutions occurring in it, finally, to look into its most remote actions. He saw before him not a separate thing as such, out of context of the medium, but the entire complex world in constant motion." Lafargue continued: "Marx combined both qualities that made a brilliant thinker. He skillfully broke up the object into its components to restore it with all its details and various forms of development and to reveal their internal dependence."[41]

In K. Marx's publicistic works the results of analysis and synthesis were presented in the form of conclusions. The shaping and final formulation of the conclusions formed the finishing touch of the creative process in which the publicistic work was written. They were the summing up of the researches. Con-

clusions could be presented in various forms depending on the task the author had set himself, on the scope and depth of his analysis.

A distinguishing feature of analysis and synthesis of facts in Marx's publicistic works was their "openness". It should be mentioned that publicistic works are distinguished in general for the "openness" of the author's process of thought. A student in the theory of publicism remarked that, as distinguished from the scientist's laboratory, the publicist's laboratory was open to all[42]. It would be fair to say that the author deliberates aloud, as if inviting the reader to accompany him in the search for the truth. In Marx's addresses this "openness" is particularly marked. The reader witnesses the birth and development of the author's idea, he observes changes. He is drawn into the process of thought, analysis and generalisation of facts to arrive at unequivocal conclusions together with the author. Gradually, as the reader makes progress he, so to say, becomes a co-author, because the convictions of the publicist become his own. Permit the present author to confirm this with two examples.

One of the most outstanding specimens of Karl Marx's publicistic skill was his article "The June Revolution". It appeared in print as an editorial in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** on June 29, 1848, as soon as the news on the defeat of the workers' revolutionary uprising in Paris reached the paper. Marx started the article with an announcement:

"The workers of Paris were **overwhelmed** by superior strength, but they were not **subdued.**"[43]

This first brief sentence was the reason and line of departure for the whole article. Following this Mark aphoristically formulated, in the second sentence, the conclusion he had arrived at as a result of an analysis of a report on the uprising: "They have been **defeated** but their enemies are **vanquished**". The conclusion is paradoxical in form. The reader is startled at first and is puzzled. The rest of the article is a detailed reply to the reader's involuntary question and an explanation of the re-

port, showing why the enemies of the defeated workers were vanquished, what this is manifest in and its significance.

The first answer given in the same paragraph is an explanation to Karl Marx's thought. The momentary triumph of brute force, he wrote, had been bought at a prohibitive price– the collapse of all illusions the bourgeoisie used to deceive the workers. As a result, "the division of the French nation into two nations" occurred, "the nation of owners and the nation of workers".[44] The author supports his thesis with facts. Not a single bourgeois, not a single bourgeois republican or democrat, who until then had proclaimed unity with the people, sided with the workers. The bourgeois youth sided with the enemies of the insurrectionists. The students of the medical department refused to aid the wounded proletarians. But these were facts that were lying on the surface, so to say. Marx would not be satisfied with them alone. He again raised the question: why did the division of what seemed a single nation into two nations occur? The publicist dug deeper into his analysis, climbing down onto the second step. The cause, as he saw it, was that the workers' uprising was a civil war which had assumed a social characer. He wrote that this was a "civil war in its most terrible aspect, the war of labour against capital".[45] He went on to explain why it had broken out, despite the appeals of bourgeois liberals to universal brotherhood, despite the fact that in February 1848 a bourgeois revolution had taken place in France under the same slogan of brotherhood. Marx showed the factors which made it possible to issue these appeals about bourgeois – proletarian fraternity and brotherhood. The "brotherhood" lasted only while the interests of the bourgeoisie coincided with those of the proletariat, while the class contradictions between them were in an undeveloped form, i.e. while they were "peacefully latent". That was why the February revolution was a "**nice** revolution", and the June revolution, in the opinion of the bourgeoisie, was an "**ugly** revolution". The reason why it was ugly was that it discarded words in favour of deeds. And Marx further deepened his analysis des-

cending to the third step. To answer the question why the bourgeoisie thought the June revolution so "**ugly**" and in what way it differed from the earlier revolutions the publicist analysed its class character. None of the preceding revolutions of the French bourgeoisie, he wrote, ever made an attempt on "**order**". They all served to preserve the domination of the bourgeoisie and the slavery of the workers. Though the political form of this rule and slavery had undergone changes, the "order" remained. But the "June uprising did assail this **order**".[46]

In establishing the class character of the June revolution Karl Marx disclosed the "history of the fact", the preconditions and causes of the workers' uprising, their mounting discontent with the policy of the bourgeoisie and the formulation of their demands. The euphonious phrasemongery of the bourgeois democrats on the aims and character of the February revolution which, they claimed, had bean executed above all in the interests of the workers, proved to be a lie. This phrasemongery was now in contradiction with deeds–the efforts of the bourgeoisie to restore the former conditions of labour and to intensify the exploitation of the proletarians. The National Assembly took a series of measures in pursuit of these aims. But without success. And Marx explained the reasons why the attempts of the bourgeoisie to deprive the workers of the achievements of the February revolution had failed. He pointed to the industrial crisis which had assumed a general character in France. The political events, the June revolution stemmed from economic processes which were worsening the conditions of the workers and sharpening class conflicts. The conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat broke out into the open and could be resolved only by armed struggle.

This marked the end of the analysis. The component parts of the event were established. The primary cause, the motive forces and character were revealed. It was now time to proceed with the synthesis, with the generalisation of the results obtained and with the formulation of the conclusions.

Karl Marx had already formulated the first, pivotal con-

clusion in the beginning of his article. He repeated it in the end of his work. The vanquished were the bourgeoisie and its National Assembly. They were now separated from the proletariat, from the people by an impassable class gorge.

Karl Marx's second conclusion is equally important, particularly for proletarian revolutionaries, for the communists. The June revolution had shown that the fight for the form of the state was not purposeless. It had definite meaning and purpose. He pointed out:

"Collisions proceeding from the very conditions of bourgeois society must be fought out to the end, they cannot be conjured out of existence."[47]

The best form of state was the one in which social contradictions were not suppressed, but were resolved in open struggle. In concealed form this conclusion contained a proposal. It was not formulated, it was not written down, but logically followed from the above, namely that communists, proletarian revolutionaries should concentrate their efforts on an open development of class contradictions and on resolving them in the course of class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Karl Marx's third, and last, conclusion dealt with the duty of the proletarian, revolutionary democratic press which was obliged to come out in defence of the defeated revolutionary fighters and praise their courage and heroism. He wrote:

" . . . The plebeians are tormented by hunger, abused by the press, forsaken by the doctors, called thieves, incendiaries and galley slaves by the respectabilities; their wives and children are plunged into still greater misery and the best of those who have survived are sent overseas. It is the **right** and the **privilege of the democratic press** to place laurels on their clouded threatening brow."[48]

This was the finale of the article.

The article "Conditions of Factory Workers" contained a somewhat different publicistic analysis. Karl Marx wrote it on April 7, 1857. It appeared in the end of the same month in the **New York Daily Tribune.** During this period Marx was ac-

tively working on a new theory of political economy. We know that this affected his publicistic activities. The immediate reason which prompted Marx to write the article was the issue of a regular report by British factory inspectors for the latter half of 1856. As Marx put it, the report provided "invaluable material for the study of the United Kingdom's social anatomy".[49] But he based the article on a different fact, namely the reactionary position adopted by British industrialists during the general elections. They supported a cabinet of ministers that pursued a vigorous colonialist foreign policy. Marx raised the question of the reason behind this position of the British manufacturers. In search for an answer he studied the report of the factory inspectors. This became the main documentary source of the social information he needed.

Karl Marx drew the attention of the reader to two changes Parliament introduced in 1856 in the industrial legislation on the insistence of the factory owners. One referred to installation of protective facilities for mechanical drives and machines. It was asserted that the purpose of this measure was, allegedly to ensure more effective life and labour safety. Another dealt with the introduction of arbitration in disputes between the factory owners and the workers. Ostensibly its purpose was to subordinate questions of labour protection and safety to cheap course of justice. Marx immediately exposed the hypocrisy of these changes. He wrote: "In actual fact the latest act was to have deprived him of all safety".[50] Marx supported this thesis with quotations from statements of inspectors recorded in the report. The inspectors exposed the real aims of the new acts. Further he cited information on the results of these measures. There was a terrific rise in the accident rate in industry ending in death, maiming and injuries. This meant that the factory owners were looking for a way to avoid paying for injuries inflicted at the point of production. Proceeding from the report Marx laid bare the various tricks the industrialists resorted to to increase the working day in violation of the law and thus to intensify the exploitation of the workers. He opened to view

their "dirty stratagems" to deceive the factory inspectors, their "mean intrigues" to conceal cases of law-breaking. A detailed analysis of the facts set forth in the factory inspectors' report enabled the author to draw the conclusion that by working a change in the law the factory owners took good care to see that the new wording should offer them more loopholes. This conclusion pointed to the hypocrisy of bourgeois legislation.

The second conclusion Marx arrived at answered the second question raised in the beginning of the article. It gave the reasons for the reactionary stand the British industrialists adopted. He wrote: "Are not these vampires who are growing fat on the blood they are sucking out of rising generation of workers in their own country worthy colleagues of British smugglers trading in opium? Are not they a natural pillar of really British ministers?"[51] They, obviously, needed a foreign policy that would draw the attention of the masses away from internal questions, from social conflicts at home.

But just like in many other publicistic materials of this period Karl Marx, while seemingly dealing with a particular theme (in this case, the stand of British industrialists at the general elections), took advantage of the analysis to draw a general conclusion of global character, namely that the existing social system was unsound and fallacious, if it permitted such monstrous treatment of the workers, that class antagonisms were of law-governed character and that they would inevitably grow over into a social class war. The reports of the factory inspectors proved beyond all possible doubt that the British industrial system was growing meaner and meaner as its size increased. Marx showed that the laws enacted to curb the insatiable greed of the factory owners were nothing but deceit and fraud. Their real purpose was to nullify their ostensible aims and to neutralise the very people who were to carry them out. In conclusion Marx wrote: " . . . The antagonism between the factory owners and the workers is quickly approaching the limit, beyond which real social war begins . . ."[52]

Marx's publicistic analysis confirmed the conclusions he

had drawn in his scientific works. It enabled him, on the basis of factual material provided by life itself, to concretise the theses and propositions he developed in his theory of political economy.

2. From Thought to Fact

The founders of Marxism used in their publicistic works not only the inductive method of knowledge. They examined facts and regarded them not only as a reason, a point of departure and material for analysis and formulation of conclusions. They applied with equal success the **deductive method of knowledge** which used facts as illustrations, as confirmation of the general thought, of a theoretical proposition which had been postulated, which from the very beginning had served as a basis for a publicistic article. Thus, Friedrich Engels wrote:

"Induction and deduction belong together as necessarily as synthesis and analysis . . ."

While complementing each other they enable the publicist to accomplish the task he has set himself more expediently.

Engels continued: " . . . We should seek to apply each of them in its place, and that can only be done by bearing in mind that they belong together, that they supplement each other".[53]

When Karl Marx was only a beginner in journalism, he already appreciated the value of combining both methods of knowledge in publicistic works. This is evidenced by his statement:

"The correct theory must be made clear and developed within the concrete conditions and on the basis of the existing state of things."[54]

Desiring to meet the interest of his readers in political facts by his contributions to newspapers and journals Marx never forgot about political thought. He wrote:

"It stands to reason that fact does not preclude thought any more than thought precludes fact."[55]

More than that, in his publicistic works fact far from pre-

cluding thought, implied it, led the reader to it, causing him to think about the content and import of the fact. In his publicistic works Marx produced and extended a chain of interconnected facts and thoughts. Facts were a reason and material for shaping thought. Thought in turn was based on new facts and confirmed by them etc. In most of Karl Marx's works the pattern of knowledge of reality was fact-thought-fact. It was also the pattern for comprehension of reality.

However, there were quite a few cases in Karl Marx's publicistic work, when knowledge and comprehension of reality followed a somewhat different pattern, namely thought-fact-thought. Thought as a general theoretical proposition, as a scientific conclusion formed the basis for an article by the publicist. The thought would mark the opening of the address, provide the reason for quoting of facts and for analysing a concrete situation. In this case thought played the role of a theoretical fact.

In his publicistic works Karl Marx would take recourse to deduction in two cases. First, when, in his article, he proceeded from a theoretical proposition or from an idea which had been proved true in the course of scientific research. In this case he would use the thought as a basis for an article, disclosing it in the text. As we have already mentioned above, a fact, a report on a concrete event may serve as a reason for the article, the fact or event giving rise to the given thought. After that the thought serves as a basis for the analysis of the event and for understanding of the situation. As an example of such a publicistic work we could mention, in particular, Karl Marx's article "British Trade and Finances". The immediate reason which prompted Marx to write it was the publication of a report on the economic crisis of 1857–1958. The report had been written by a committee of the House of Commons. Ridiculing the absurd and sterile conclusions of the committee about the causes of the crisis which, they claimed, was the result of excessive speculation and abuse of credit, Marx raised before himself and the reader the following question: what were the social

conditions which regularly sparked off crises? He formulated a vital conclusion of the Marxist theory of political economy of capitalism. He was actively working on it at the time. This conclusion was that economic crises were inherent in the capitalist system, they were a law-governed product of capitalism. He wrote:

"If they are traced out, we should arrive at a very plain alternative. Either they may be controlled by society, or they are inherent in the present system of production. In the first case, society may avert crises, in the second, so long as the system lasts, they must be borne with, like the natural changes of the seasons."[56]

All further deliberations of the author lead the reader to the conclusion that the latter explanation of the causes giving rise to crises is the true one. Having singled out only one aspect of the situation that had taken shape in Britain's economy at the time, namely the system of fictitious credit, Marx analysed a wealth of factual material contained in the report of the parliamentary committee. The use of hollow promissory notes, juggling with books in banks, abuses by directors of London and provincial banks for self-interest and other facts like these enabled Marx to shed rather sad light on the role of joint stock industrial companies and banks which engaged in granting of fictitious credit. The publicist showed that the fictitious credit system was inherent in the capitalist system of production, a law-governed phenomenon typical of capitalism. The general theoretical thesis he used as a basis for the article was concretised and confirmed in the course of the analysis of a concrete economic situation.

Some of Karl Marx's other works are of the same character. One of these was the article entitled "Increasing Number of Insane People in England". It was packed with factual material, statistical and descriptive material which was a concretisation and confirmation of a thesis given in the sentence. "It is a precisely established fact" that growth of wealth corresponded to the growth of pauperism. Marx wrote: "It would be

curious to note that the same law, apparently, applies also to the number of insane people".[57] He showed that pauperism and mental diseases were becoming widespread among the British working people. They were an inevitable and law-governed consequences of merciless capitalist exploitation.

The opening sentence of Karl Marx's article entitled "The View of the Papers and the View of the People" (written on December 25, 1861 and printed in **Die Presse,** a paper published in Vienna) was:

"The politicians of continental countries who imagine that London press can serve as a gauge of the British people's sentiments are bound to be misled at the present moment."[58]

Giving accurate political characteristics of London and provincial papers and the journalists who worked for them he proved his idea about the class character of the British bourgeois press. He showed that it served only the interests of the ruling class and its government. The British press had nothing in common with the interests of the masses of people. In giving an analysis of concrete situations and factual material in his articles written to this pattern Marx was able to check the validity of his ideas, general theoretical propositions he had formulated in the course of scientific research. What was particularly important was that he was able to present these ideas to a mass audience.

There was another (second) case when Marx used the method of deduction in his publicistic work. This was when a thought he expressed in the beginning of an article needed proof. He would refer to facts to illustrate and confirm his initial statement.

In March 1849 Marx published in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** a small article entitled "The Censorship". His opening statement was:

"The German daily press is certainly the flabbiest, sleepiest and most cowardly institution under the sun. The greatest infamies can be perpetrated before its very eyes, even directed

against itself, and it will remain silent and conceal everything."[59]

The author confirmed his characteristic of the German bourgeois press with facts. Reactionary censorship was restored in a district in Silesia. Military censorship was introduced in Erfurt. It prohibited the dissemination even of those revolutionary-democratic publications which were published in other districts in Prussia. However, the German liberal press remained silent about this. The publicist's pivotal thesis was fully proven. Marx's characteristic of the counter-revolutionary policy pursued by the big German bourgeoisie was enriched by another striking detail.

Karl Marx's publicistic works in which he combined induction and deduction produced a powerful impact on the minds of the readers. One of the reasons was the logic of the presentation of his main idea. He geared everything to the accomplishment of this task. He put together fact after fact, detail after detail to form a general picture which brought the reader to the natural conclusion. The conclusion was often laid down already in the initial formulation of the principal idea which was the reason for the writing of the article. The purpose of the article was to prove its validity and to disseminate it. But quite often the general conclusion would be reinforced by a powerful ending of a narrower character. Thus, in his article "Increasing Number of Insane People in England" the conclusion about inhuman treatment of patients from the poor sections of the population in British work houses and hospitals was the message of the author. In the article entitled "The Censorship" the conclusion was set forth in the appeal to the members of the Prussian National Assembly. In it the author reminded them about the need to bring the reactionary ministers to trial. It should be mentioned that with time, as Marx became more active in the field of publicism, particularly in the 1850s, he used the deductive method of knowledge more and more. The reason for this was, apparently, his scientific pursuits: he was engaged in the further development of the Marxist theory. He was using well

thought-out and carefully coined theoretical propositions not only as a scientific foundation for his publicistic works, but also as an important element of his concrete articles.

In his publicistic works Karl Marx also made successful use of other methods of scientific knowledge. Among these were comparison, analogy and even modelling. He used the method of comparison more than any other methods. It enabled him to establish changes in social reality and tendencies in its development. "The general singled out with the help of comparison"[60] just like the differences in events and phenomena that took place in different historical periods or even during the same period enabled Marx to penetrate into the phenomenon or process he was studying and to ascertain the characteristic of their essence. In singling out the basic, essential features of events or processes being compared he could characterise them both qualitatively and quantitatively, establishing their mass character and intensity.

When using the comparative historical method in knowledge of social phenomena Marx would always analyse the concrete objective conditions in which these phenomena happened to originate and develop. Thus, in the article "June Revolution" he compared the uprising of the Paris workers in June 1848 with a similar political event that had taken place earlier that year, namely with the February bourgeois revolution. Then he compared the June uprising with all the preceding bourgeois revolutions in France that had taken place during various periods, including the Great French Revolution of 1789-1793. This made it possible for him to find the features common to all bourgeois revolutions in France and, what was particularly important to Marx, the qualitative distinction of the June uprising of the Paris workers, which made the latter different from all preceding bourgeois revolutions. As a result of the studies Marx drew the conclusion about the class distinction in the character and aims of the June uprising, that made it different from the earlier bourgeois revolutions in France.

Marx used the method of comparison also in the series of

articles entitled "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-revolution" he wrote late in 1848. In characterising the role of the bourgeoisie in the March 1848 revolution in Prussia Karl Marx compared it with the bourgeois revolution of 1648 in England and the Great Revolution of 1789 in France. He established the feature that was common to them. The struggle was being waged for the political domination of the bourgeoisie. Comparison helped him determine the common features of the English and French revolutions. In both revolutions it was the bourgeoisie that headed the movement. Both were revolutions of a European scale. As Marx put it, "they **proclaimed the political order of the new European society**".[61] As a result of comparison Marx was also able to indicate the fundamental distinctions between these revolutions, on the one hand, and the March 1848 revolution in Prussia, on the other. In actual fact the latter was only a faint echo of the European revolution in a backward country. Then Marx went on to explain the factors that conditioned its major specific features. The comparison enabled him to disclose the essential features and specifics ot the social process which determined the character and trend in the development of Prussian society over a prolonged period in its history.

In his publicistic works Karl Marx just as frequently made use of the method of **analogy.** Proceeding from similarity of two or more social events or phenomena he would draw the conclusion that one of these was characterised by an important feature or sign. He applied this method of knowledge in scientific works, such as "The Communist Manifesto" and "Capital". In his publicistic works analogy plays a major role to help establish and explain the essence and specific features of political events and social situations. Sometimes it enabled the publicist to reveal more vividly some feature, or sign which are important for the description of a viewpoint or action of a political party or concrete personality. Thus, Marx started the article "Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality" (devoted to the criticism of K. Heinzen, German petty-bourgeois democrat) with an analogy of so-called grobian literature which appeared

in Germany in the 16th century and K. Heinzen's articles. In enumerating the features of grobian literature which was a "loutish form of indignation" expressed by the self-conceited philistine he compared Heinzen's attack on the communists with this literature. He then went on to characterise the "degenerating variety of literature" produced by opponents of Marxism.[62]

Although Karl Marx made wide use of analogy in his scientific and publistic works, he, at the same time, was very cautious about this method of knowledge. He realised that unfounded or wrong use thereof would bring about only superficial results. In the preface to his work "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" he compared this work with V. Hugo's "Napoleon the Little" and P. J. Proudhon's "Coup d'Etat". However, Marx was opposed to superficial, unfounded analogies that failed to take account of the distinctions between various social-historical conditions which formed the context of the events being compared.[63] In the social sphere analogies mostly assume the form of historical parallels. Proceeding from this, Marx pointed out that failure to take note of specific historical conditions would result in what was known as "formal analogy"[64] which did not help establish the truth.

In articles written in the late 1850s Karl Marx very frequently took recourse to analogy. These were articles on economic themes, colonial policies of European bourgeois governments and the national liberation movement in the colonies and other dependent countries. This method enabled him to determine the specific features of the economic crisis of 1857–1858 in Europe and the role it played in the development of the revolutionary movement. For instance, he constructed the article "Monetary Crisis in Europe" wholly on analogy. He compared the financial panic which began in autumn 1856 on the Europan money markets with the panic that gripped the London money market in April-May 1847. The latter was followed by the outbreak of the economic crisis of 1847–1848 that

sparked off the European revolutions of 1848–1849. On the basis of this analogy Marx arrived at the conclusion that a general economic crisis would inevitably erupt in 1857 too. It is a fact that his forecast proved true. At the same time Marx pointed to the peculiarities of the financial panic that seized the markets in 1856. Whereas in 1847 it moved across the European continent from west to east, it was now moving in the reverse direction–from Germany to England and France. In 1847 the slow rate at which it developed imparted to the panic a local character. In contrast to this in 1856 the rapid rate at which it spread imparted to the panic a universal character. Marx remarked: "At the time only few people suspected it to presage a general crisis; today nobody has the least doubt about it . . ."[65]

Karl Marx made further use of analogy to characterise the political events of the late 1850s in France and other European countries. He compared these with the political events in 1847–1848. This enabled him to establish the structure and peculiarities of the concrete economic situation that had taken shape in Europe during a definite period.

Marx used the same method of research in other articles too, namely "Upheavals in British Trade", "Indian Mutiny", and a few others.

However, Karl Marx also took recourse to **modelling** as a method of knowledge of reality. He would do that, when he deliberated on the future, on the trend and forms of development of society or on the solution of concrete social situations. Extrapolating the operation of laws governing social development on the basis of the past and present–to the future, he formulated an idea about the way in which they would manifest themselves in the future and the consequences arising therefrom. In shaping peculiar mental models–possible social situations that might occur under definite conditions–he proceeded from the theoretical propositions and conclusions of historical materialism and scientific communism.

The founders of Marxism never went in for social harebrained schemes and warned others against it. In deliberating

on the future they followed from sound knowledge they obtained from revolutionary practice, Marxist theory, scientific research and publicistic work (this being an important source). V. I. Lenin wrote:

"There is no trace of utopianism in Marx in the sense that he made up or invented a 'new'society. No, he studied the **birth** of the new society **out** of the old, and the forms of transition from the latter to the former, as a natural historical process. He examined the actual experience of a mass proletarian movement and tried to draw practical lessons from it."[66]

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels actually resorted to modelling already in the "Communist Manifesto". Having scientifically proved that the collapse of capitalism and the triumph of proletarian revolution were inevitable, they set the revolutionary proletariat a great aim–the upbuilding of communism. In this work they set forth their concept of a future society–an association "in which the free development of each is the condition for free development of all",[67] in which all exploitation and class opposites, all forms of social, political and national oppression would be abolished.

Karl Marx similarly used modelling in his big historical-publicistic works, and even in small newspaper articles. Thus, in "The Civil War in France" he summed up the experience of the Paris Commune and further developed the Marxist doctrine of the state, proletarian revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. In this work he gave a brilliant analysis of the historical conditions which produced the Commune, revealing its character and purpose ot its activity. In the Paris Commune Marx discovered in rudimentary form the features of a state of a new type–state of proletarian dictatorship. He wrote:

"Its true secret was this. It was essentially a working class government, the product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labour."[68]

In analysing the principles and character of organisation

of power in the Paris Commune Marx actually modelled a situation which could have originated in the event of a victory of the proletariat. He shared his ideas about the prospects for the development of society and gave an outline of the future state of proletarian dictatorship.

It has already been said that, in some of the articles he wrote for newspapers and journals Karl Marx also built a mental model situation. He would pose concrete aims before revolutionary proletarians or would set forth a programme of action for them in a political situation that had taken shape. For instance, in November 1848 the Berlin Naional Assembly ran into an acute conflict with the King of Prussia and his government and passed a decision on the refusal to pay taxes. When this happened Marx called on the readers of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** to boycott the collection of taxes by the authorities. In his addresses in the paper he worked out a programme of action for the supporters of the National Assembly. Commenting on the order of Herr Eichmann, Oberpräsident of the Rhine Province, who issued the threat to use force in collection of taxes, Marx set out a programme, as if "trying out" versions of a possible situation. The supporters of the National Assembly, he proposed, should compel all the officials officially to declare their recognition of the National Assembly and to state whether or not they intend to carry out its decisions. If they should refuse to make such a declaration or if they directly oppose the decisions of the National Assembly, the officials should be deposed and proclaimed state criminals. Provisional security committees should be appointed to replace the apparatus. Their orders should be regarded as the only lawful acts. Finally, wherever counter-revolutionary authorities should attempt to thwart the organisation of committees by forceful means, force should be fought by force. Marx wrote:

"**Passive** resistance must have **active resistance** as its basis."[69]

He warned that only such action would secure victory over

the reactionaries. Unless they undertook such steps, the revolutionary democrats would suffer defeat.

As you see, in his publicistic works Karl Marx made effective use of all the methods of theoretical analysis to establish the content and essence of concrete social situations, political and economic phenomena, and to determine the character and peculiarities of the developing revolutionary process.

3. To Prove to Persuade

As Karl Marx saw it, the purpose of his publicistic activity was to disseminate Marxist ideas, promote slogans of proletarian revolutionary struggle and to explain to the workers and their party the tasks confronting them. He conducted this propaganda work and gave these explanations ultimately to urge the masses of people, the proletarian masses to engage in action. It would be possible to accomplish the task of changing the world, of transforming social reality (Marx had formulated this task in his theses on Feuerbach) only if the masses undertook it. To this end it was necessary, as latterday socio-psychologists would say, to mould in the masses and in the individuals comprising them a definite set to action. The question now is that of the effectiveness of publicistic works and the preconditions for action. The main precondition for action is: people must be convinced that what mass media are telling them is true, what the publicist is explaining to them is true.

It follows, therefore, that to urge a person to undertake a definite action it will be necessary first to convince him of the need for such action. Friedrich Engels wrote:

" . . . It is certainly true that we must first make a cause our own, egoistic cause, before we can do anything to further it."[70]

He pointed out that to help a cause it was first necessary to form definite convictions, opinions and views. But to convince the reader of something the publicist must prove to him that his

ideas, thoughts, conclusions are true and valid. He must substantiate his proposals and recommendations. As Engels put it, if you want to engage in propaganda and win supporters, it is not enough to recite, it is necessary to substantiate your theses.[71]

The founders of Marxism arrived at the idea of the need to prove and argument their point, to make their scientific and publicistic works effective, when they started to work in the sphere of theory and journalism. The need to defend their convictions, often in polemics with their political opponents raised before them the problem of effectiveness of a public statement, above all in the periodical press. What does the power of the impact of a newspaper or journal publication on the mass audience depend on? What should be done to ensure maximum effectiveness of printed materials? The answers to these questions were not so much of theoretical as of practical importance to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. To convince the reader and to urge him to take definite action the scholar and the publicist must support their theses and propositions with arguments. This was the essence of the answer to the questions practice had raised before them.

In his article "Communism and the Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung" printed in October 1842 Karl Marx pointed to the importance of giving a theoretical substantiation of communist ideas. Although he upheld idealistic positions at the time, his intuition showed him the right way to the understanding of the role ideas played in the moulding of a person's convictions. Marx wrote:

"Ideas which have conquered our intellect and taken possession of our minds, ideas to which reason has fettered our conscience, are chains from which one cannot free oneself without a broken heart; they are demons which human beings can vanquish only by submitting to them."[72]

The young thinker's initial conjecture about the role of ideas in the moulding of convictions was unfolded and substantiated, when he went over from idealism to materialism and

from revolutionary democracy to proletarian communism. In the introduction to "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" Karl Marx formulated the role of theory and its importance as a revolutionary factor in social development: "The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapons, material force must be overthrown by material force; but theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses."[73]

This classical wording of a brilliant idea has become anthological. It is being quoted and interpreted in hundreds of scientific publication and textbooks. However, much less attention has been paid to a continuation of this idea. It should be mentioned that in unfolding his idea, Marx pointed to the conditions in which theory can grip the masses to become a material force. He further wrote:

"Theory is capable of gripping the masses as soon as it demonstrates ad hominem, and it demonstrates ad hominem as soon as it becomes radical. To be radical is to grasp the root of the matter. But for man the root of the matter is himself."[74]

We should note that the Latin legal term argumentum ad hominem means proof applied to the given person. In other words, to grip the masses it is necessary, first, to prove the truth of the theory, the truth of its ideas. Second, the proof should be addressed to a **concrete person.** Third, it will be successful only it the theory "becomes radical", that is, if it affects the **root of the matter**–propositions, relations, phenomena of decisive significance for the life of every concrete person. And finally, as far as man is concerned, the focus–"root"–of his interest is man himself, his life and relations with other people. The natural conclusion from this formula is: unless to prove to **every man** that the theory, its ideas are true, they will not exercise an influence on people, they will be unable to grip the **masses.** Marx's profound idea is of truly methodological importance both to the scholar (scientist), particularly one working in the field of social sciences, and to the publicist. In their polemics with K. Heinzen, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels again em-

phasised the need for every publicist, particularly one upholding progressive, proletarian positions, to substantiate and prove his ideas.

As Karl Marx passed through all the stages in writing a publicistic work, i.e. in the course of analysis, synthesis and formulation of conclusion, he substantiated and argumented all of his propositions and ideas. He invariably relied on fact, ideas and images. He produced his arguments in pursuit ot two main goals. First, to prove the truth of Marxist ideas, the results of his analysis, conclusions on the positions of political parties and public figures, conclusions on the causes of their actions, on the ways and methods for the solution of theoretical and practical problems, solution of concrete social situations etc. And second, to prove the validity of his theses and refute the views of his ideological opponents. In polemising with the opponents of Marxism, with the political enemies of the revolutionary proletariat and exposing their fallacious arguments Marx, at the same time, reaffirmed and promoted his own ideas, and substantiated the truth of these ideas. However, in the second case, his arguments have their own peculiarities.

Karl Marx used facts and ideas as the main means for proving his point. This was due to the possibilities they opened for exercising an influence on the individual mind and mass consciousness. Marx and Engels referred to the "eloquence of fact" because it was capable of producing simultaneously an impact on the intellect and the feelings of the reader already at the empirical level of knowledge of reality, at the level of the ordinary mind. This, however, does not mean that fact, as an argument, is divorced from thought (idea). It has already been pointed out above that fact far from precluding thought, implies it. Thought in turn is characterised by the specific quality of being used as an argument. This means that thought can be used as an argument. As a result of analysis and synthesis of fact or as an idea postulated by the author, idea expressing a concept and having the form of a concept appeals above all to the reader's intellect, to his mind. Thus, thought as an argu-

ment can be used not only on the level of ordinary (common) consciousness, but also at a higher level of theoretical consciousness. At the same time we should not forget that it appeals both to the reader's intellect and feelings evoking a corresponding response, including an emotional response. In Marx's publicistic works thought and fact as arguments were practically always inseparably interconnected. This being so they produced a combined, so to say, "cumulative" impact on the reader. Even if Marx's communication appeared to present only facts to the reader, it nevertheless carried "concealed" thought. Marx's purpose here was to bring forth the facts for the sake of this thought.

In substantiating his statements and propositions Karl Marx solved a complicated "di-une" problem. On the one hand, he sought to use all the types and forms of arguments and to select from those available precisely those that would be most expedient in this particular case. On the other hand, he would "process" the arguments selected, subject them to definite mental procedures, connect and combine them. In publicistic terms this meant the use of various methods of argumentation. The fact that Marx was constantly confronted with this problem in his publicistic work caused him to produce whole system of arguments, means and methods of proof. This system took shape in the process of his practical work. Marx constantly enriched it with new elements which he collected from his personal experience and the experience of progressive publicists of the past and his contemporaries.

What did the system of arguments in Karl Marx's publicistic works add up to? What did he have in his "depository" of arguments and proofs?

The arguments Karl Marx used in his publicistic works can be clearly subdivided into two groups. The overwhelming majority of these is of documentary character. They are facts, thoughts, scientific ideas and theses, evidence from theoretical literature etc. connected with reality. They reflected events in social life and the processes occurring in it.

When necessary, Karl Marx made use of non-documentary facts of a figurative nature. They were, so to say, the result of reflection of life in the form of images and figures of speech. He used as arguments facts he observed himself and those connected with his personal participation in events. Thus, in June 1855 he took part in a people's demonstration the Chartists organised in Hyde Park. His personal observations served to prove the class character of this popular action. He witnessed an open clash between the English workers, on the one hand, and the aristocrats and the bourgeoisie, on the other.

Sometimes Karl Marx would simply enumerate facts without describing them, because the reader should be familiar with them. The listing of a **series** of facts, of a **multitude** of facts strengthened the publicist's argumentation. This enabled him, so to say, to prevent the reader from jumping to any accidental conclusion, to lead the reader to the conclusion he wanted the reader to accept. For instance, in affirming that the bourgeoisie was unwilling to improve the conditions of the proletarians in Germany Marx brought forth a whole range of facts. In Cologne a worker who lost his job (this was laid down in the "worker's card") was placed under police surveillance. A workers' cheap canteen was moved to an unsuitable place and the quality of food drastically deteriorated. In Vienna the unemployed were sent to serve in the army. In Breslau the municipal council deprived the poor who contracted cholera in the almshouse of the means of subsistence.

If Karl Marx did not witness an event himself he applied to the evidence of eyewitnesses. Thus, the facts confirming the cruel treatment of the Cologne democrat Anneke when the gendarmes arrested him in July 1848 in violation of legal standards were supplied to Marx by the wife of the victim and other witnesses. He used them in reports to prove that in fighting the democrats the government officials defied constitutional guarantees.[75] Quite frequently Marx referred to letters and personal documents he had received from his friends and acquaintances, or to letters the readers sent to the editors. He used this evi-

dence as a source of proof he needed for his work. He would quote facts members of the National Assembly, participants in the revolutionary movement[76] notified him of in their letters. In proving that the economic crisis which had gripped England was a general crisis Marx showed in his articles that the prices of goods in Manchester had dropped. This information had been supplied to him by Engels[77] in his letters to Marx. More than that, Marx even used as proof of his statements the letters he, as editor, received from the enemies of democracy and revolution.

Marx acquired a wealth of arguments not only from the workers' and revolutionary-democratic press, but also from liberal bourgeois and even reactionary publications, such as government papers and monarchist printed organs. During the revolution of 1848–1849 he was pleased to refer in his articles which appeared in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** to its earlier publications. As the development of revolutionary events confirmed more and more of the paper's forecasts on the aims and tactics of the reactionary governments and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie Marx would make reference to materials published earlier. Such references were weighty proof of the publicist's current statements and materials. After the counter-revolutionary coup the Prussian government had engineered, Marx ironically wrote in December 1848:

"The events have shown to what degree the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung libelled** the Prussian government and its henchmen."[76] He reminded the readers about his article the paper had published in June of the same year, in which he had predicted the defeat of the Left opposition in the Berlin National Assembly. In one of his most powerful articles entitled "The Police Suppress the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung"** which appeared in the last issue of the paper Marx used reference to earlier publications and quotations therefrom as his main argument in refuting the accusations of the authorities about the impermissible tone and tendentious character of the paper's last few issues.

Early in 1849 the **Preussischer Staats-Anzeiger** (Prussian State Bulletin), a semi-official paper, published information on Prussia's budget. The figures in it enabled Karl Marx to prove on their basis that public funds were being wasted on the maintenance of the royal court, the Prussian Junkers and the war machine[79]. By quoting from the reports of London bourgeois publications on the rising rate of interest in British banks and the bankruptcy of industrial firms Marx backed his conclusions on the rate of development of the economic crisis in 1857.[80] A careful study of the English newspaper files equipped him with numerous facts confirming his appraisal of the condition British economy was in[81]. These were, so to say, semi-official arguments. Marx displayed equal skill in the use of "official" information as arguments too. These included government orders and instructions, parliamentary reports on the work of various committees, appeals and addresses of public organisations, memoranda and official acts. Owing to their documentary value "official" facts were irrefutable arguments.

Karl Marx willingly quoted speeches and statements by statesmen, public leaders, sovereigns, members of national assemblies and parliaments, ministers, government officials and other personalities. As a rule, he would accompany the quotation with comments. Verbatim excerpts helped Marx support his statements about reactionary views, falseness, hypocrisy, stupidity and other qualities and features of the members of the ruling circles.

Scientific arguments of various kinds played a major role in Karl Marx's publications. The theses of Marxian theory were irrefutable arguments, when he explained the causes that had given rise to a political situation or economic development. To prove that, when the German bourgeoisie was frightened by the revolutionary proletariat, it gave up the defence of its class interests–he set forth some of the theses from the theory of historical materialism. These theses dealt with the contradictions between the productive forces and relations of production in capitalist society[82].

Karl Marx readily quoted historical examples in support of his ideas and conclusions. Historical parallels, analogies and comparisons gave him arguments that produced a particularly powerful impact on the readers. For instance, in criticising the New Year Greeting of the King of Prussia to the army and in showing that the reactionary warlords performed "heroic feats" against unarmed, helpless people, as a rule, Marx compared the royal address with the manifesto issued by the Duke of Braunschweig. The latter was the commander of the Austro-Prussian troops that invaded France in 1792 and marched to revolutionary Paris[83]. The historical comparison immediately denuded the reactionary character both of the Prussian army and the royal address. In his analysis of the causes and aims of the predatory wars the British waged against Persia Marx refreshed in the reader's memory the basic facts from the history of that country from the 16th to the 19th century. These facts explained to him the character and import of contemporary developments[84]. Some of Marx's articles were wholly based on historical facts. Among them were those in which he characterised the policy of the Hohenzollerns. In his lampoon "The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty", in his article "Divine Right of the Hohenzollerns" and several other publications Marx laid bare the historical roots of the Prussian kings' thirst for conquest, expansion and plunder. Proceeding from historical facts he showed how the Kurfürsts of Brandenburg who became the kings of Prussia took recourse to bribery, plunder and treaties on the division of neighbouring possessions and other similar methods to expand their holdings.

When Karl Marx quoted from history, he, of course, never forgot the true causes behind historical processes, their motive forces and economic levers. He wrote:

"In present-day historiography real progress was achieved only after historians descended from the surface of political forms into the bowels of social life."[85]

In many cases Karl Marx drew proof from political economy, from theory, history and practical life. His knowledge of

these fields was really boundless. For instance, in 1848 he refuted the statement of Forstmann, right-wing member of the Prussian National Assembly, who claimed that Prussian state credit was stable. To show that Forstmann was wrong Marx brought forth **economic** arguments. He referred to the theoretical propositions of political economy about the factors which determined the price of money and state securities. He explained the role of state credit in countries whose state securities were in circulation on the world market, and in Prussia where state credit played a secondary role. Marx convincingly proved that his opponent–Herr Forstmann "is no more a speculator on the Stock Exchange than he is an economist".[86]

In 1856 Marx analysed the speculations of Credit Mobilier, joint stock bank in France, to show that its founders were trying to amass wealth, proceeding from some of the propositions formulated in the economic theory of Saint Simon's school. He caustically remarked:

"Saint Simon in the role of guardian angel of the Paris stock exchange, prophet of swindle, Messiah of universal bribery and corruption! History knew no irony more malignant than that . . ."[87]

In his analysis of the signs of the 1857 economic crisis, such as the dwindling reserves of money in French and other banks, Marx went into the history of the use of precious metals on the European and Asian markets to reveal the effect of the political events in Asian countries on the economic conditions in Europe.[88] It would be fair to say that in his publicistic works Marx developed a whole system of economic arguments. He made successful use of it in various periods. The system, understandably, included statistical data too.

Karl Marx and statistics is a theme that has hardly been studied. It merits special research. The present author will limit himself only to a few remarks and observations that have direct bearing on the great thinker's publicistic work. Way back in the late 1840s Marx made wide use of statistics in his publicistic works as an instrument of proof of his statements and conclu-

sions on the conditions of the working people in Belgium. Statistics confirmed his findings on the mounting poverty and rising crime in Belgium,[89] on the development of the economic crisis in England[90] in 1847 and on its consequences. As he delved deeper and deeper into political economy his interest in statistics mounted more and more. And this found its reflection in his publicistic works.

A wealth of materials, including tables, data on the budgets of the British, French and other governments, stock exchange prices, financial reports on home and foreign trade, on railway construction and on the operations of big banks, was reflected in Karl Marx's publicistic works as initial, though highly important information. As V. I. Zdorovega pointed out, the circumstance that the statistical fact was different from the common, empirical fact was of great importance. He noted that the import here was that the statistical fact was in a sense a summing up, a generalisation. Therefore, it should be regarded as a sum total of a series of separate facts summed up with the help of definite research methods.[91]

Statistical data reflect the development of economic processes, they disclose definite tendencies and changes in various spheres of social reality. But Karl Marx did not regard figures as an end in itself. They only provided him with the material and means for presentation of various social phenomena in the form of figures.[92] These enabled him to conduct a special form of analysis–statistical analysis. He transformed statistics into a most potent political weapon. Thus, by comparing the budgets of the Prussian monarchist state and of the United States of America for 1849 he showed how "His Majesty's" government, the aristocracy and gentry robbed the pockets of the Prussian citizens.

In his article "The Budget of the United States and the Christian-German Budget" Marx bared the "cheating in the field of state finance".[93] He thus criticised the entire social system of the Prussian kingdom.

In the article "British Trade" Marx analysed the tables

with information on the value of exports and imports of Britain over a period of several years. He showed how British capitalists compensated the fluctuations in the level of profits they reaped by lowering workers' wages.

In Karl Marx's articles on economic themes statistical facts played a steadily increasing role. He used statistics to corroborate his findings on the approaching economic crisis of 1857 and then on its development. Figures for him were "precise facts, indisputable facts".[94] These figures helped him convince the reader that his deliberations were sound and true. Sometimes he would start a publicistic work by quoting statistical data. In other works he would weave figures into the texture of the story. There were cases, when statisticcs was not only a reason for the writing of an article, but also its foundation and main argument. Marx would not merely introduce data of one kind or another. He would analyse, systematise, compare and collate figures, i.e. process them, reveal their content and role. Very few of his contemporaries and immediate followers who worked in publicism would pay such purposeful attention to figures.

In "The Economic Situation in France", "Austria's Sea Trade", and "British Trade" written in 1856 Karl Marx compiled tables out of official statistical data. He would concentrate them in areas of particular interest to acquaint the reader with the results of his findings.[95] He put the data into a form that made it possible to use them for purposes of analysis and for substantiation of his conclusions. In the article "Important British Documents" and many other publications Marx combined statistical information with detailed comment. In it he would explain the content and role of the figures he quoted.

In another article of his "Debate on the Freedom of the Press..." Karl Marx ridiculed the semi-official **Allgemeine Preussische Staats-Zeitung** (General Prussian State Newspaper), when it tried to divert the attention of the readers from political questions by publishing statistical information of all sorts. Ironising on the paper's position the young publicist remarked:

"Numerical tables instruct the public without exciting their emotions."[96]

However, in a short time he managed to demonstrate in his publicistic works that "numerical tables", provided they were competently used, could "excite emotions" on the part of the reading public and serve as a weighty argument in support of the author's ideas.

Legal proof played a big role in Karl Marx's system of publicistic arguments. Marx was a brilliant scientist of law. He had a thorough knowledge of the laws of the Prussian kingdom. He was well versed in Roman Law and was well grounded in the legal systems of other European states. He aquired a vast volume of knowledge while he studied jurisprudence at the faculty of law, Bonn University, and later Berlin University. At the time he even attempted to develop a new system of philosophy of law. The knowledge he obtained at lectures read by his professors and from official books he applied successfully in practice. He used this wealth of knowledge to fight abuse of the law and the arbitrary rule of reactionary governments. Marx defended the revolutionary publications he edited from the reprisals of the police and judical authorities. At two trials held in February 1849 Marx demonstrated his incomparable superiority over the officials of the judiciary who tried to suppress the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung.** The legal arguments in his speeches at these trials were beyond reproach. He convincingly proved to the jury that the accusations and charges brought against the paper were totally unfounded and farfetched. Though the paper had been charged with high treason, libel and insults of officialdom, the proof of the falseness of these accusations was so incontrovertible that the jury acquitted the accused.

In many of his publicistic works which dealt with prosecution of participants in the revolutionary movement by reactionary authorities Marx constructed his proof on legal arguments. His articles which were printed in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** on the introduction of a state of siege in Düsseldorf, on the tri-

als of the democrats Gottschalk, Anneke, Lassalle and Oesser were, on the one hand, impassioned statements of a lawyer equipped with the knowledge of all aspects of Prussian law and judicial proceedings and, on the other, equally impassioned accusations brought against state bodies and officials guilty of violation of legal standards. Marx used legal arguments in his articles on reactionary bills of the Prussian government. Their purpose was to lay bare their aims, namely abolition of the freedom of speech, of the press and other democratic freedoms. In the publicistic works of the 1850s–early 1860s Karl Marx made active use of his knowledge of law. In them he treated such topics as harassment of exiles in England, deterioration of morals among English aristocrats. He attacked the London bourgeois press for defending the need for capital punishment etc. He showed how the bourgeois government violated their own laws to defend the selfish interests of the ruling class. In his other works dating back to the same period ("Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne" and "Herr Vogt") Karl Marx developed a comprehensive system of legal arguments. He quoted evidence of eyewitnesses, collated documents, established facts of violation of judical proceedings, caught police agents redhanded in acts of perjury and forgery. The information he presented was deadly and his proof incontrovertible.

Among the arguments Karl Marx brought forth reference to views of competent persons, quotations from works by scholars and scientists, and statements by eminent specialists occupied a prominent place. They confirmed and supplemented his own statements, provided the facts, information and appraisals. When Marx wanted to confirm his findings about the rapidly widening gap of social inequality and increasing rate of pauperism in the United States of America, he quoted from the course of lectures on political economy read by Thomas Cooper, American economist. In refuting Thiers' statement about the mortgage system playing no role in French farming he cited the opinion of K. J. Dombasle, eminent French agronomist and

chemist. To prove his idea about many English aristocrats owing their wealth to appropriation of common lands he referred to a book by D. Dalrymple, a British lawyer. He also quoted from the works of the economists J. Sismondi and J. Loch. In Karl Marx's publicistic works the information and views of ancient historians Thucydides, Tacitus, his contemporaries Tierri, Guizot, Toquille, Macaulay and Bockle, the economists Smith, Ricardo, the utopian socialists Saint Simon, Fourier and Owen, authorities on mathematics, physics, biology, statistics philology and other scientists were turned into arguments in support of his theses and statements.

When necessary Karl Marx used **language arguments.** Establishing the meaning of terms he turned this into proof of his theses. Thus, in his polemics with K. Heinzen, published in the **Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung,** Marx showed that his opponent was misusing elementary economic and political terms. K. Heinzen did not understand the true meaning of the terms he used. Marx wrote:

"Again, Herr Heinzen is unconsiously saying the same thing as Engels is saying, but again in the steadfast conviction that he is saying the opposite."[99]

As he ridiculed Heinzen Marx set forth a series of important propositions in the theory of class struggle.

In his publicistic works Karl Marx used proverbs, sayings, popular expressions, statements by literary characters, which had become aphorism and lines from poetic works as additional arguments that helped him bring his point to the reader and prove the truth of his propositions. In his report on the way the judiciary supported the reactionaries who had engineered a counter-revolutionary coup in Berlin in November 1848 he aptly used the popular saying: "He who has might, has right".[100]

To demonstrate the depth of moral degradation of the deputies to the Frankfurt National Assembly after the revolutionary uprising in Vienna Marx quoted a line from John Milton's "Paradise Lost:" "Beneath the lowest deep, a lower still."[100]

Starting an article on Napoleon III's policies which were driving his empire to disaster Marx quoted a Latin saying: "When god wants to destroy somebody he first deprives him of reason".[102]

Marx advanced arguments depending on the topic and aim of his article, on the social status and character of the opponent he was engaging in polemics, on the reasons the opponent brought forth. In pursuit of his aim Marx would combine and enlarge on his arguments, and resort to various methods of proof. Many of the methods were hinged on the logic of his reasoning. Very few could conted with Marx in logic which served as the basis for his proof. It was not fortuitous that Heine described the leaders of German communists (implying Marx above all) as superb masters of logic. The best of them had completed Hegel's school.[103] Marx's publicistic analysis was logical analysis. This implied strict development of the main thought, consistent disclosure of the role and importance of all the elements in a concrete situation and the connections between them, and, finally, the establishment of the causes and effects of events. Marx led the reader to a conclusion which logically followed from the preceding analysis. Sometimes the logic in the formulation of the final conclusion was revealed in the article with the help of theoretical questions and answers to them. The questions and answers divided up the thought of the author and the reader who followed it closely into several sections.

An example of such division was the end of Karl Marx's second installment of the "Counter-revolution in Berlin" serial. Having posed the question: what should the revolutionary democrats do, if the Prussian reactionaries attempted to stage a counter-revolutionary coup, Marx answered it: **"We should refuse to pay taxes.** A Wrangel and a Brandenburg understand . . . that they wear a sword and get a uniform and a salary. But **where** the sword, the uniform and the salary come from–that they do not understand.

"There is only one means of defeating the monarchy, and

that is to do it before **the advent of the anti-June revolution,** which will take place **in Paris** in December.

"The monarchy defies not only the people, but the bourgeoisie as well.

"Defeat it therefore in a bourgeois manner.

"And how can one defeat the monarchy in a bourgeois manner?

"By starving it out.

"And how can one starve it out?

"By refusing to pay taxes.

"Consider it well. All the princes of Prussia, all the Brandenburgs and Wrangels produce no **bread for the army.** It is you who produce even the bread for the army."[104]

Each sentence of this ending is a continuation and consequence of the preceding thought, an element of the logical chain of arguments.

The corollary from an analysis of a concrete event or situation sometimes formed the basis of Karl Marx's argumentation. Manteuffel, the Prussian Prime Minister refused to submit to the decision of the Frankfurt National Assembly demanding the formation of a government enjoying greater trust on the part of the people. He claimed that this was allegedly a question of the country's home policy. Marx drew a logical conclusion from this. He wrote that in this case the decision of the very same Frankfurt National Assembly, which declared nonvalid the decision of the Berlin Assembly on the refusal to pay taxes to the Prussian authorities, was void of meaning. The reason for this was that it was also a matter of home policy.[105] The compelling logic of the argument rendered it irrefutable.

It should be mentioned that as Karl Marx accumulated practical revolutionary and publicistic experience the logic of his arguments underwent a certain change. Initially, it was abstract logic to a greater degree. However, it gradually became more concrete and more down-to-earth. The emphasis was now on conclusions resulting from analyses of concrete social facts

and processes. This change did not make the logic of his argumentation in publicistic works less forceful. On the contrary, it gave the arguments additional weight and made them more convincing.

A whole range of additional factors contributed to Karl Marx's publicistic argumentation. One of these, as we have pointed out above, was the limited time in which he had to produce his writings. The time factor affected not only the process of writing of the article or report, but also the power of the impact they produced on the mass audience. The quicker a piece of news reached the reader, the greater was its impact, the easier the arguments of the publicist explaining the import of the event were accepted by the audience. In the event of delay the publicist has to provide additional arguments to refute those of his opponents (the reader may have come to know them). No wonder Marx pointed out that articles covering current events lost all value, unless they were printed as soon as they were put on the editor's table.[106]

The second additional factor played an equally important role. This was, as has also been mentioned above, the "open" character of the process of writing a publicistic work.

Karl Marx's publicistic work was a vivid expression of his personality. The titanic intellectual personality of the author produced an indelible imprint on all of his publicistic works. Sometimes his personality manifested itself in the implications in the article, determining its character and tone. In other cases it appealed directly to the reader. Marx openly addressed the reader with questions, calls, reminding him of past events and expressing his emotions and attitude to people and events. The personal elements and the vivid emotions they excited formed the third additional factor which reinforced Marx's argumentation in publicistic works. The author's frankly expressed powerful emotions kindled by some event unfailingly evoked response in the reader. The publicist's conviction persuaded the reader. Marx's experience showed that he was capable of "exciting emotions" in his readers by merely expressing **his own**

emotions and **his own** attitude to what he was communicating. Of course, the publicist should not forget that his personal experience is part of public experience. N. I. Lapin rightly remarks that Marx soon developed in himself the ability to appraise his personal experience from the standpoint of public (social) experience.[107] Already in the beginning of his publicistic work Marx formulated the principle he always adhered to, namely to write only on problems he had felt very keenly and, had taken to heart.

There were other ways in which a publicist could arouse emotions in the reader. This was to show and portray reality and, if necessary, to use figures of speech. Marx regarded the ability to produce and show live presentations of reality as a criterion of journalistic skill. This is evident from the opinion he expressed about the memoirs of G. Lommel, a participant in the 1848 revolution in Germany. Though Marx criticised the author for his narrow-mindedness, he at the same time spoke favourably about the "lively and truthful presentation of the sphere" Lommel had known.[108] He praised a book V. V. Bervi-Flerovski, Russian economist, wrote about the conditions of the working class in Russia. He pointed out that the book was "a work by a serious observer, fearles worker, unbiased critic, powerful artist and, above all, a man outraged by oppression in all of its forms . . ."[109] It follows herefrom that Marx placed artistic ability on a par with ability to observe and analyse.

Karl Marx's publicistic works reveal an organic combination of scientific and artistic methods for reflection of reality, for reinforcement of concepts with images. Marx used the image to carry a big message, as a potent means for knowledge and reflection of reality and also as a means for argumentation in proof of his point. Marx employed various types of images: artistic, publicistic and verbal.

As a concrete and at the same time generalised reflection of human life (created by imagination and endowed with aesthetic value[110]) the artistic image appears in Marx's publicistic works mostly as a character image associated with a definite

personality. Marx used images borrowed from fiction, fine arts, folklore, mythology. He valued them for their unusual clarity. He liked them because the overwhelming majority of the readers immediately understood his message, because the image simultaneously produced an impact both on the mind and the feelings, because it could evoke immediate emotional response. The publicist uses the image quickly to reveal to the reader in a universally understandable form the essence and import of the event he is dealing with. The image is also an instrument in argumentation and illustration of the author's thoughts and reasons. The characters from the works of Shakespeare, Goethe, Heine, Cervantes, Schiller, Balzac, Ariosto, Molière, Dickens, many writers and poets of the Renaissance and modern times, the images of the heroes of Homer, Virgil, Plautus, Horatius, Lucretius and other authors of antiquity, the gods of ancient Greek and Roman myths helped Marx, the publicist, accurately and vividly characterise the positions and role of political parties, public leaders and statesmen, and to expose the true reasons behind their actions and their genuine aims.

In his lampoon "The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty" Karl Marx quoted from Heinrich Heine's poem "Changeling":

> A child with a head as large as a pumpkin,
> With the drooping moustache of a grey-haired bumpkin,
> With spider-like arms, lengthy but strong,
> With a paunch of a giant but guts not so long,
> A changeling . . ."[111]

The satirical image created by the poet became a symbolic epigraph to the whole work.

Karl Marx used the image of the fat liar, boaster and coward Sir John Falstaff from Shakespeare's "King Henry IV" and other plays to feature the hypocritical policies pursued by the Prussian liberal-bourgeois Pfuel Government[112] and the false-

ness of the British ministers Palmerston and Gladstone. Reporting ironically on Palmerston's speech in Parliament on Britain's relations with Russia and Turkey Marx wrote:

"The noble lord has changed the date Porta pleaded for help just as easily as Falstaff changed the number of cutthroats who had attacked him from the back appearing alternately in oilcloth cloaks and Kendal jackets."[113]

The image of Sir John Falstaff became a major feature of the lampoon "Herr Vogt". It helped the publicist tear the mask off Vogt to show his true face. Vogt had tried to play a political part during the 1848 revolution in Germany to become later a paid agent of the Bonapartists.

To denude the leaders of the petty-bourgeois exiles who emigrated to London after the revolution and who engaged in petty intrigues and hare-brained scheming Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels borrowed for their lampoon "The Great Men of the Exile" images from Cervantes' immortal romance "Don Quixote". Ridiculing the phrasemongery of the leaders of petty bourgeois exiles Marx and Engels refer to them as Quixotic knight-errants with doubtful means of livelihood.[114] Willichs was Don Quixote and Sancho Panza in a single person. Marx and Engels wrote:

"... Equally infatuated both with a sack of provisions and his obsessions, equally inspired by free subsistence of knights errant and by their glory, a hero of dwarfish wars and petty intrigues who conceals his knavery under the mask of a strong character ..."[115]

In Marx's publicistic works the power of an image from fiction is determined not only by the fact that the reader associates it with a familiar psychological stereotype, that the image awakens connotations, emotions and gives rise to a definite attitude towards a real man and his actions. In these works Sir John Falstaff will always embody falsehood, boastfulness and cowardice, Shylock–the usurer's greed and vidinctiveness, and Homer's Achilles–bravery. The image from fiction is also a bearer of a definite idea. Therefore, it could be used by the

author to prove his point or substantiate his conclusion. This was particularly important to Marx–the publicist.

There was also a publicistic image which Karl Marx used just as widely in his works. As the present author sees it, it has the same basic features as the artistic image. It is generalised, concrete, typified and individual. However, what distinguishes it from the artistic image is a fundamental feature. The publicistic image originates on the basis of a real prototype that existed or exists in real life. More than that, the description of this existing person by a journalist turns him into what is known as a publicistic image. Thus, documents which are the basis both of journalism and publicism in general also form the basis of the publicistic image. In creating it the author accomplishes a complicated task. He has to find the general and typical in the individual, to discover the features of a social type in a living person.

Karl Marx was an expert at creating publicistic images. In his articles there are many of them. As far as vividness, expressiveness and typification went, they were no inferior to the artistic images of the characters created by classics of literature. Some were the pivot of a whole publicistic work or even a serial. For instance, such are the images of Palmerston in Marx's serial under the same title, of Louis Bonaparte in "The Eighteenth Brumaire . . ." and in a number of articles on this political adventurer who became the head of a major empire. This applies to Thiers in "The Civil War in France" and to Vogt in the lampoon "Herr Vogt". Each of these images reproduced all the individual features of the real personality. However, at the same time they are generalisations, i. e. they combine the features typical of definite social types. In moulding the image of Thiers, a dwarf who relished in brandishing Napoleon I's sword in the face of Europe, but whose foreign policy invariably led to the humiliation of France, Karl Marx branded in it not only the statesman who actually lived at the time, the butcher of the Paris Commune, but also the whole class Thiers personified. He wrote:

"This monster dwarf charmed the French bourgeoisie for nearly a half a century, because he is the most perfect ideological expression of its own class corruptedness."[116]

Sometimes Karl Marx created a publicistic image in support of a literary image that was a leading character in a work. The image of Falstaff-Vogt dominates the lampoon "Herr Vogt". It is reinforced by witty satirical similes, and nicknames the author gave his "hero". Vogt appears in the lampoon as a skunk, a little beast that ejects an offensive-smelling musky liquid. He wrote: "Powder and lead defend you against the wolf and the tiger, but there is nothing that can save you from the skunk's a posteriori (behind.–Ed.)".[117] In unmasking the "skunk's" offensiveness, who cast malicious aspersions on the founders of scientific communism and their supporters Marx wrote that the "sycophants of the ruling class just as disgracefully calumniated the advanced political fighters and writers who defended the interests of the oppressed classes . . .".[118] The artistic image of Falstaff-Vogt and the publicistic image of him complemented each other. As he pointed out in the preface to his lampoon, these images helped Marx expose "this individual who represented an entire trend".[119]

A publicistic image being associated with a real person, this image being moulded through the description of his individual features and acts that are well known to the reader, it can, at certain periods, exercise a most powerful influence on the audience. The publicistic image may be outstandingly topical because it prompts ideas and excites emotions aroused by the vital interests of the readers at the moment. The publicistic images Karl Marx created were endowed with topicality and "response to events". However, they had still another feature. Sometimes a publicistic image took shape as a result of analysis and presentation of individual features characterising several individuals (and not merely one living person), who had similar traits. By typifying and generalising them the publicist would create an image that embodied a definite class or social group. Here is an example. The image of Hohenzollern is

prominent in all of Marx's publicistic works. Hohenzollern was a predatory, perfidious, false, selfish, bloodthirsty and cowardly marauder who ruled Prussia over a period of many centuries, oppressed its people and plundered its neighbours. The image of Hohenzollern was based on real personalities. It embodied the typical–both individual and generic–features which were characteristic first of the Markgrafs and Kurfürsts of Brandenburg, and later of the Kings of Prussia, starting with Friedrich I and ending with Friedrich-Wilhelm IV. In analysing the history of the House of Hohenzollerns, in singling out the features inherent both in its individual representatives and in the whole clan Marx generalised and typified them to create a vivid publicistic image.

Karl Marx was a master in painting publicistic portraits. In sculpturing a publicistic image he, at the same time, drew the portrait of a man who happened to be his real prototype. Soviet scholars have noted that Marx sought to give the portraits of public leaders and statesmen he wrote about[120].

And, indeed, in his publicistic work Karl Marx painted a big portrait gallery of outstanding politicians and public leaders of various countries, peoples, classes, political parties and trends. He took interest not only in social and economic processes which determined the course and character of historical development, but also in people, and personalities whose actions and statements ultimately reflected these deep, undercurrent processes. He wished to portray historical personalities not in their official form, but in their actual shape. He wanted to "paint them in stern Rembrandt colours in a true to life manner".[121] Marx faithfully reproduced the individual appearance of the persons he described. He was equally faithful to the historical truth, when he reflected their inner essence and character. He would show the role they played in the public arena, disclose the causes behind their actions, their aims and ambitions. These were social-psychological portraits that gave the reader a full and detailed idea about one historical personality or another. The gallery of publicistic portraits Marx painted in-

cluded all the main social types of bourgeois society, members of practically all the political institutes and agencies of the governing and executive machines of feudal monarchies and bourgeois states. Among them were the monarchs Friedrich-Wilhelm IV, King of Prussia, the French Emperor Napoleon III and the Austrian Emperor Franz-Josef; their courtiers, ministers Camphausen, Hansemann, Palmerston, Gladstone, Disraeli and Russel; military leaders, marshals and generals Wrangel, Manteuffel and Pfuel of Prussia, Pelisier, Saint Arnot and Espinas of France; financiers and tycoons Fould and the Pereira brothers; venal journalists Schücking, Brüggemann and Schwanbeck; judicial officials, gendarmes, police officers, sleuths and provocateurs. But Marx also painted portraits of participants in the revolutionary democratic movement, leaders of the democratic opposition, members of National Assemblies and Parliaments R. Blum, F. Lassalle, A. Ledru-Rollin and L. Blanc. The colours the publicist used depended on the public role of the personality he described, on his class position and aims. Marx would give a concise or detailed characteristic of the historical personality in keeping with the task he set himself in the article. The publicistic portrait of the person concerned would be painted with a few strokes of the brush or with the minutest details. However, the aim of the portrait characteristic was always the same, namely to find and show to the reader the appearance and internal content of the political figure, the features that would help reveal the causes and motives behind his actions, his individual traits which were at the same time typical of members of the given class, or social group whose interests the given personality expressed.

Being true to life Karl Marx did not use black colour alone, when he portrayed bourgeois leaders. Nor did he use white colour alone to paint the participants in the revolutionary movement. Though the negative features made up the main element in the countenance of a bourgeois minister or parliamentarian, Marx would also give their objective merits, such as Disraeli's intellect and Palmerston's superiority over his politi-

cal rivals. And, contrarywise, though he gave a positive characteristic of R. Blum, democratic deputy to the Frankfurt National Assembly, who was shot by Austrian soldiers in Vienna in 1848, and of the Polish General J. Bem, a leader of the revolutionary Hungarian army, Marx did not overlook their weaknesses.

In his works Marx gave several types of publicistic portraits. In most cases it was a so-called portrait for "a single occasion" created in connection with a concrete political situation. It would be a portrait of a character mentioned in the presentation of this political situation. However, sometimes when Marx characterised a person whose activity produced a noticeable imprint in a prolonged period, he would draw a peculiar "generalised" portrait. The publicist would present his "hero" in the process of development, at various stages of his public career. Thus, in reconstructing Thiers' political career from December 1842 till 1873 Marx reflected it in a series of microportraits and detailed characteristics. Starting from 1848 Marx similarly produced a generalised portrait of Palmerston over a period of two decades and a half. He painted it in minute detail in his lampoon of the same name. Generally speaking, a single article, a publicist has written on a personality will not give a full appraisal of the place and role of a public personality in history. This task can be accomplished only by a whole range of materials in which the author has repeatedly dealt with the personalities' stand and actions in different periods. The publicistic portrait was, understandably, used by Karl Marx as an effective means of argumentation. He used it to explain the behaviour of one politician or another in a concrete situation and to prove the validity of his own conclusions. By exposing Palmerston's hypocrisy, demagoguery, acting and political cynicism masked by his sham leanings towards liberalism Marx proved that the minister was pursuing a policy that was hostile to the interests of the British people, that he was a true advocate of the interests of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy.

In bringing forth arguments Karl Marx frequently used the so-called verbal image. According to the dictionary of literary terms, "the **image** (verbal image, to be more exact) is any expression imparting clarity to speech, colour and concreteness (vide trope). In this sense of the word poetic speech is often referred to as **figurative**".[122] The verbal image is widely used in publicistic works. M. S. Chereakhov points out quite rightly that one should not confuse it with image as a method and form for reflection of reality. This image is characteristic of art alone, fiction in particular. In contrast to his the verbal image (figure of speech) is used in all types of literature and forms a characteristic element of the spoken language[123]. Being mainly based on the simile, metaphorical figures of speech (verbal images) help the publicist bring home to the reader the meaning of his statements, explain the social stand of a political party or political leader, and also the essence of their programmes and actions.

Voicing his hope for a new revolutionary upsurge in France and other European countries, Karl Marx wrote in November 1848:

"At long last we have heard from **Paris** the rumble from underground which presages an earthquake that will bury the respectable republic under its own ruins."

"**The horizon is clearing.**"[124]

Generally speaking, the image-bearing comparison of revolutionary forces with the elements can be frequently encountered in his publicistic works.

"Having crossed the English Channel we see that on the opposite shore the social surface is already rocking and heaving under the action of underground fire,"[125]–this vivid metaphore enabled Karl Marx to convey to the reader the tense expectation of another revolutionary eruption in France. Characterising a German petty bourgeois democrat actively involved in small time intrigues among the exiles in London, Marx wrote: "Meyeni s a hedgehog who by error was born spineless into the world. . ."[126]

A figure of speech enabled the publicist accurately to express the impotence and helplessness of Canrobert, a marshal of Napoleon III's army: "... He is only a fraction, but the main point is that he is incapable of being a whole number."[127]

In articles on social conflicts, people's uprisings, revolutions, the conditions of the working people and exploitation of the workers Karl Marx used a multitude of figures of speech. Many of them later appeared in "Capital". For instance, describing the exploitation of adolescent and child labour in the article "Conditions of Factory Workers", Marx wrote about the owners of British factories: "These vampires that are growing fat on the blood they suck out of their own country's rising generation of workers ..."[128] Marx frequently used in his publicistic works this simile to compare the capitalists with fantastic monsters which suck the blood of sleeping people at night. He used it in "Capital" too.

In Karl Marx's publicistic works the verbal image (figure of speech) performs the function not only of an argument, but also of a vital element of form. But the present author shall examine its role in the function in the pertinent chapter of the book.

Chapter IV

Master of genre-painting

1. From a Note to a Lampoon

The genre as a stable pithy form of a publicistic work with relatively constant distinguishing features and traits characterising it was, of course, known long before Marx. Way back in the 17th and 18th centuries politicians and publicists wrote articles and lampoons for newspapers and journals. The epistolary form of fiction and publicistic works was widely used in those days. But the great service of Marx and Engels was that they used the publicistic genres to promote the ideas of Marxism and to fight the enemies of the revolutionary proletariat. They made an outstanding contribution to the moulding of the basic genres used in communist publicism, to the establishment of their cardinal features and peculiarities. The fact that they understood the role and specifics of genre forms in art and publicism was of major importance.

The founders of Marxism examined the genres from the standpoint of dialectical materialism, as a phenomenon that constantly developed and changed. This approach was characteristic of them. The dialectical approach enabled them to determine the character of artistic works, the value and specifics of the genres in literature and art. Marx and Engels extended their general dialectical viewpoint on the nature of human thought to analysis of questions bearing on art. This is what G. Friedlander, Soviet literary critic, discovered and wrote. As a result, they proved that the form and content of artistic creativity were not immutable, unchangeable invariably. They established that the form and content developed and changed together with the development of the objective material world and human society[1].

This conclusion fully applies to the genres of publicistic works. They are neither immutable nor unchangeable. They are in a state of constant development and change. They appear, develop, flourish, change, sometimes disappear to be replaced by other genres of later origin. Proceeding from Karl Marx's ideas about the connection between aesthetic ideals, character of artistic creativity, certain genres in literature and art of the given epoch, on the one hand, and "known forms of social development",[2] on the other, it is possible to grasp the character and trend in such a process. Marx set forth these ideas in the introduction to economic manuscripts of 1857–1858.

It is necessary to display caution in trying to explain processes occurring in journalism and publicism on the basis of ideas Karl Marx advanced on literature and art in general. Direct transfer of these ideas from one sphere of superstructural phenomena to another, which though related to the former, is different inasfar as its specific features are concerned, may lead to the vulgarisation of the process being studied. However, within certain limits, with account of the specifics of the given related spheres of social phenomena recomprehension of Marx's ideas may prove useful.

Indeed, a change in the system of social relations changes not only the people's aesthetic ideals, their views and tastes in art, but also its content and forms. The history of journalism shows that these processes are also valid with respect to publicism. They work changes in people's "tastes" also in the sphere of publicism. Both the publicists and their readers give preference to definite genres in a given historical epoch.

It is the political needs of social classes, above all the ruling class, that determine the character of journalism and publicism as an institute that disseminates its ideas, that play a decisive role in the development of various genres. However, the needs of the revolutionary class opposing the ruling class and developing its own revolutionary journalism and publicism also play a role of mounting importance.

At a time when the bourgeoisie fought against absolute

feudal monarchy, the aristocracy and gentry which supported it to establish its own power a whole range of analytical and satirical genres appeared. Among these were the article and lampoon which were a means for the exposure of feudalism, for criticism of outdated social order and for ridiculing of those who opposed the "third estate". This was an epoch which produced various epistolary genres in publicism. These flourishing genres enabled bourgeois ideologues to promote their ideas often in concealed form. The bourgeois press was giving more and more space to appeals, calls, invectives and other printed genres that helped mobilise the masses of people, particularly during bougeois revolutions.

After the bourgeoisie assumes power and becomes the ruling class the publicistic genres develop in a different direction. Quite a few of them, the lampoon for instance, gradually disappear from the pages of bourgeois periodicals. The bourgeoisie is not interested in the encouragement of genres that are logically engaged in the analysis of social reality and capitalist social relations.

With the establishment of the proletariat as a revolutionary class and with the emergence of independent proletarian journalism and publicism genres which help turn the periodical press into a weapon of political struggle of the workers and their party, genres which help disseminate and promote new, revolutionary ideas develop more vigorously. This may be the reason why Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels concentrated on genres which they could effectively use for purposes of revolutionary propaganda, political education and organisation of the proletariat, and also for fighting against its enemies.

When Karl Marx only started to work in the field of publicism he regarded the issue of a periodical as a set, as a sum total of publications. In 1843 he wrote that the purpose of every article was to be "only a part complementing the whole".[3] He actually regarded the given issue of a newspaper as a system of materials written in various genres. Every publication played its specific role in pursuit of a definite task which it accom-

plished by reflecting some aspect of reality. Taken together the materials of an issue revealed "the whole truth in its entirety". They showed the most important aspects of life at a given moment of its development. This was a step towards the understanding of a separate issue of the newspaper as a "concept of a political paper".[4] It was V. I. Lenin that finally arrived at this understanding.

Karl Marx's writings were characterised by peculiar syncretism, i. e. combination in a single work of elements of several genres, such as the article, report, communication and reportage. This was due to a variety of reasons. One of these was that in the early period of Marx's work in journalism the system of publicistic genres was not developed. Some of them were only taking shape and were being introduced in journalistic practice. Others, such as the article or the review which had existed over a period of many years, were undergoing changes. Their fundamental features acquired shape in the publicistic works written by the founders of Marxism.

The system of genres in publicistic materials was moulded at an extremely rapid rate–in only a half a century of Karl Marx's and Friedrich Engels' socio-political and journalistic-publicistic activity. This process took place right before their eyes, largely through their own creative contribution on the formation of various publicistic genres.

As a publicist Karl Marx was a master of practically all genres. He wrote articles, reports, alive-to-events communications. He was a great hand at lampoons and other forms of newspaper-journal satire, he willingly worked on reviews and surveys of newspapers. In this field of publicism there were no professional secrets he did not know. He used all the wealth of colour available in genre painting. He would choose the colours that enabled him most effectively to accomplish the task he had set himself. He readily mixed "colours": he would combine analytical article elements with reportge images; he would introduce satirical elements into a review, an analysis of a concrete situation or portrait characteristic into the texture of

a lampoon. In Marx's case syncretism of genres was an indicator of outstanding professional skill. However, at the same time the present author has noticed in his publicistic works definite preference to certain genres. The group of genres Marx preferred was determined by the line of his writing, the tasks of his revolutionary-party work, finally, by the peculiarities of his character, temperament, personal tastes, inclinations and publicistic talent. The "set" of genres which covers the overwhelming majority of Karl Marx's publications in newspapers and journals includes the article, report, review in all of its forms and lampoon. The other materials he produced with the exception of, perhaps, the most urgent newspaper reports were also characterised by analysis.

2. The Principal Genre

The keynote of the great thinker's journalistic activity was publicistic analysis. This is the reason why the article was Karl Marx's main genre in his publicistic work. It was precisely the article that gave him the indispensable possibility for making a profound large scale analysis of facts, events, and concrete political situations. This analysis in turn enabled him to disclose the underlying social-economic processes. The article made it possible for Marx to present to the reader his idea in a purposeful, logical manner with sound argumentation, to reveal the process of his thinking and to lead the reader to the law-governed conclusion. Later V. I. Lenin formulated the requirements to the article. In his view the article was a means for clear development of a strictly defined idea[5]. This explained why such a master of logical analysis as Marx frequently gave preference to the article in his publicistic work. He regarded it as an effective instrument for the dissemination and promotion of revolutionary ideas, as a sharp weapon of political struggle. And it was he that made a tremendous contribution to the "crystallisation" of the article's main features as a genre and to the moulding of various types of articles.

The periodical publications Karl Marx edited carried his **leading** articles. It was these articles that opened each issue of the paper. Each issue of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** opened with an article Marx or Engels had written on the most outstanding, topical theme of the day. Gradually this article acquired the features of the leader as we know it today. Marx's first main article was "The June Revolution". This was followed by a four-article serial entitled "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-revolution". Many of his other contributions to the paper were leading articles. Their distinguishing features were topicality, problem character, scope and depth of analysis. It was precisely these features that later prompted the editors of the **New York Daily Tribune** to print many of Karl Marx's articles as leaders. Quite often they did not bear the author's signature. Sometimes they would be grossly abridged or even distorted. But even in such cases they produced a powerful impact on the readers.

As a publicist Karl Marx played a big part in the moulding of the problem article. In actual fact all of his articles were problem article, including the leaders. At the same time he laid the foundations also for the **theoretical,** popular science article. It was a variety of the present day propaganda article.

Karl Marx's "Wage Labour and Capital" was an early sample of a material that propagandised and explained in a newspaper complicated questions of theory, of the theory of capitalist political economy in this particular case. When Marx launched this serial in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung,** he stated his intention to set forth complicated theoretical questions in the most simple and popular form. He proceeded from the assumption that the reader was unfamiliar with the most elementary concepts of political economy[6]. And indeed, these theoretical articles are still a model of popular literature. The publicist guided the reader from the simplest theses to more complicated propositions, making use of comparison, posing rhetorical questions and giving clear-cut answers to them. For instance, when he pointed to the mounting competition between the

workers caused by division of labour and introduction of machines, Marx bared the extreme poverty of the working people. He wrote:

"Thus, the forest of uplifted arms demanding work becomes ever thicker, while the arms themselves become ever thinner."[7]

In describing the consequences of economic crises which resulted in the death of tens of thousands of workers Marx compared capital to a "noble" barbarian slave-owner who took the dead bodies of his slaves into his tomb.[8] The extremely simple and clear manner of presentation turned Marx's works into an effective means for dissemination of Marxist ideas, political enlightenment and education of the masses.

With time Marx was increasingly gripped with the desire to study the economic fundamentals of the life of society. And this desire found its expression in many of his articles. In the late 1850s–early 1860s this was one of the reasons why economic themes prevailed in his publicistic works. He was eager to explain political events by undercurrent economic processes. This desire also conditioned the appearance of articles on political economy. These normally consisted of several parts, each of these dealing with some political or economic event. Publications of this kind mostly appeared in the **New York Daily Tribune** or the **Neue Oder-Zeitung.** Take, for instance, "Report on the Taking of Sevastopol – From the Paris Exchange – Debate in the House of Lords on the Crime on the Ganges" or "Palmerston – Physiology of Great Britain's Ruling Classes". In the first part of the last article Marx reported the news on the Palmerston government's international policies, and in the second he concentrated the attention on the materials of the factory inspectors' report. Thus, the article became a sort of politico-economic review attracting the readers' attention to several outstanding events in Britain's public life.

The present author believes that the appearance of such articles in Karl Marx's publicistic works was due to several reasons. One of these was the character of the material collected.

When Marx thought that a question merited special analysis and he had accumulated adequate factual material for it, he would devote a whole article to it. For instance, this was the case with the relations between the bourgeois press and the British government ("The View of the Papers and the View of the People"). This applied to the speech the British premier made on the country's budget ("Mr. Disraeli's Budget"). If he happened to lack adequate material for full scale elucidation of an event, or if he did not attach primary importance to it, he would only characterise it in preliminary terms and proceed with the next question in the article. That was how a review-type article appeared. Subsequently, depending on how the event developed (if it suddenly acquired major importance) Marx could return to it and devote a whole article to it.

Another reason for Karl Marx writing surveys was, as we see it, due to his desire to give scope to the elucidation of events. Wishing to compare simultaneous political and economic events which seemed to be of different character and to disclose the interconnections between them Marx would write a survey which had many features in common with the politico-economic review.

Thus, in his articles Karl Marx combined scope with practically all-round, profound presentation of the theme. As the present author has pointed out above the latter desire was met through the writing of cycles or series of articles. This was a characteristic feature of his publicistic activity.

3. Scope Plus Universality

With time the **review** occupied a bigger and bigger place in Karl Marx's publicistic works. Its main features were shaped precisely in the publicistic works of Marx and Engels. They have remained immutable to this day. Way back in the days when he worked in the **Rheinische Zeitung,** Marx began to write reviews of a certain type – surveys of the press.

While he worked at the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung,** Marx wrote many surveys. But this will be discussed below. Elements of the politico-economic review are visible in such publications of Marx in the paper as "The Revolutionary Movement" or the "Economic Conditions". But this type of review played a special role in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue.** It was not fortuitous that the great proletarian publicists resorted to this publicistic genre in precisely this journal. To some extent this was due to periods at which the publication was issued. Sometimes owing to lack of funds the printing of its regular issue would be considerably delayed. But their attention to the review was above all conditioned by the tasks they set themselves at the time. V. I. Lenin wrote that the summing up of the lessons drawn from the revolution of 1848–1849 was "**a summing up of experience** illuminated by a profound philosophical conception of the world and a rich knowledge of history".[9] Development of revolutionary theory and advancement of its ideas to educate proletarians politically and to organise them urged Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to use the review. First, the review made it possible to meet the requirement of scope, i. e. coverage of a broad range of events and phenomena – similar or different depending on the task of the publicist. The events covered could have taken place during a relatively long period. Second, the review helped meet the requirement for adequately profound analysis of facts and events.

Examination of three international reviews written by the founders of Marxism and printed in the journal in March–November 1850 has revealed a rapid evolution of their views on this genre and the requirements presented to it. The first review was constructed as a "mosaic" of events. The authors covered in it events that took place in eight countries – Prussia, Austria, Russia, Switzerland, France, Britain, America, China and Prussia again. The survey of political events, such as the relations between the King of Prussia and the bourgeois deputies to the National Assembly on the new constitution, the attitude in Switzerland towards German revolutionary exiles, reactionary

moves of the bourgeois government and mounting revolutionary sentiment in France – is combined with an analysis of events in economic life, namely state bankruptcy of Austria, industrial prosperity in England accompanied by signs of an approaching economic slump, discovery of gold in California, USA, and the effect this would exercise on European economy. All the facts covered in the survey were of a political or economic character. But they had not yet been organised into a streamlined system and they were not always interconnected.

The second international review Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote for the journal and which appeared in issue four was of a different character. Its content and structure revealed greater purposefulness and a desire to elucidate and analyse the main developments in international life. The review was of an economic character. It examined developments which occurred only in two countries, events, in the authors' view, which exercised a decisive influence on economic and political life both on the European continent and beyond it. The first part of the review was devoted to events in Britain, namely overproduction, decline in consumption, financial speculations, complication of an industrial crisis by an agricultural crisis. Proceeding from this the authors advanced the assumption that a new revolutionary upsurge might occur in that country. The second part covered the economic conditions in the United States of America: economic stagnation and its effect on the European countries, Britain above all. Marx and Engels sought for the true causes behind political events in the economy and the processes occurring in it. Using the results of their analysis as a basis they expressed, in the end of the review, the hope for a new revolutionary upsurge and for a new revolution in Europe.

The third international review Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote appeared in the last, double-sized, issue. It showed that their views on the causes and character of revolutionary events developed very quickly. This was also true of their outlook on the role the economy played in the life of so-

ciety and how it affected the shaping of the review as a publicistic genre. Although the survey was an econo-political one, the authors concentrated their main attention on the analysis of the economic life. Addressing their readers the authors proposed:

"... Let us first look into the **real** basis on which these surface disturbances occur."[10] At the same time they reminded the audience of the main tendencies in political life in the European countries. The review was basically devoted to an all-round examination of the economic processes taking place in England and the United States of America in the period from 1840 to October 1850. The authors gave an analysis of the economic crisis of 1847–1848 in England and the influence it exercised on the political life in the countries of the European continent, they examined the period of economic prosperity in Britain and the USA in 1849–1850, they appraised the role of Britain's economic development and its effect on the working class movement. This enabled the authors to draw a series of conclusions which were a major contribution to Marxist theory of proletarian revolution. The publicists drew the conclusion that during economic prosperity a new revolution was out of the question. A new revolution was possible only after a new economic crisis[11]. Thus, Marx and Engels amended their earlier forecast which failed to justify itself. This was the forecast about the early entry of a new revolutionary upsurge. Having made a thorough analysis of the economy – basis of the life of capitalist society in Europe and the USA, they examined in the final part of the review the key political events in Britain, France and Germany, including the conditions of the political exiles whose petty bourgeois leaders were forming plans for another revolution.

As far as Karl Marx was concerned the third international review was a model he used for the construction of the materials he wrote later. The present author has already mentioned above that many of his publications for the **New York Daily Tribune** were surveys, while some were reviews. An article

Marx wrote and published in August 1859 was entitled "Political Review". The publicist acquainted the American readers with the events of political and economic life in London, Paris and several cities in Germany.[12]

The contributions Karl Marx wrote during the 1857–1858 crisis – "The Commercial Crisis in England", "The Financial Crisis in Europe", and "The Crisis in Europe" – were actually reviews. In them he analysed events in the economic life of a country or several countries on the continent. Every review was characterised by combination of scope in coverage of events with analysis of undercurrent economic processes and the influence they exercised on political life.

Marx also wrote **surveys of the press** which were an important variety of the review. He made a first attempt in writing such materials to establish their potentialities when he worked for the **Rheinische Zeitung.** Engaged in an active struggle against semi-official, monarchist, clerical and obscurantist publications, he creatively assimilated and developed the best traditions of the progressive press in its polemics with the reactionary press. In the course of these polemics he learnt to use the press survey of various types. He thus contributed to the formation of the main features and peculiarities of the genre. In the **Rheinische Zeitung** Marx would print ironical remarks on publications appearing in liberal bourgeois papers ("Correspondent of the **Kölnische Zeitung** and the Stand of the **Rheinische Zeitung**"), thematic surveys of periodical publications, answers to publications in organs hostile to the revolutionary democrats, and general surveys of the trends characteristic of various papers. In November 1842 he wrote "Polemical Tactics of an Augsburg Newspaper" which was a detailed survey of the methods and techniques the **Allgemeine Zeitung,** a conservative paper of Augsburg, employed in polemics with the revolutionary democratic press. He pointed out that the Augsburg paper resorted to cowardly silence in the discussion of fundamental matters and to clamorous sallies on minor errors of the opponents.

The press surveys Karl Marx wrote for the **Rheinische Zeitung** were already articles of a peculiar kind on newspaper and even non-newspaper themes. They were usually written in response to a publication appearing in the bourgeois or conservative press against the revolutionary democratic press. Thus, in July 1842 Marx published an article entitled "The Leading Article in No. 179 of the **Kölnische Zeitung**" in which he polemised with Hermes, editor of the paper. The latter had protested against the discussion of philosophical and religious questions in the press. As Marx refuted Hermes' arguments he arrived at vital conclusions on the purpose of the democratic press, on its duty to discuss topical political matters, and to include in its sphere of interests problems bearing on philosophy and religion[13].

Sometimes in a survey he published he would analyse the trend and character of a periodical and show its role and place in social life. A case in point was the survey entitled "The Ban on the **Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung**" which gradually grew over into a problem article. The reason for the publication was the banning of a progressive German newspaper by the Prussian government. Then a young publicist he made a profound analysis of the character and role played by the revolutionary democratic press, the laws governing its existence and prospects for its development. The ideas Marx brought forth in his publication were an outstanding contribution to the theoretical fundamentals of revolutionary democratic journalism.

Karl Marx wrote press surveys in later years too. In particular, he contributed such surveys to the **Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung** and other periodicals. However, this genre really started to flourish in his publicistic work, when he edited the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung.** The troubled period of revolution posed a multitude of problems before the publicist. He managed to solve some of them by writing press surveys. Thus, in attacking the monarchist and bourgeois press supporting the opponents of the revolution Marx printed remarks taunting the **Neue Preussische Zeitung.** In his article "Confessions of a Noble

Soul" Marx analysed in detail the publications of this "cross paper" (its title carried the image of a black-and-white cross) attacking the Berlin National Assembly. The latter had engaged the king in a conflict. Marx exposed the schemes of the monarchists and formulated the tasks of the revolutionary democrats in their fight against the counter-revolutionaries.

Marx's surveys of the liberal bourgeois press were equally meaningful. The latter upholding "legality", sought to achieve a compromise with the monarchy. The publicist dealt one telling blow after another on his old enemy – the **Kölnische Zeitung** which preached ideas of universal conciliation in an attempt to bring the workers under bourgeois influence. His response to the statements of the "Cologne neighbour" were quick indeed. He immediately exposed the paper's aims. In February 1849 Marx wrote a general survey analysing the political stand of this paper, the style and methods of work of its journalists. He showed how the "division of labour" was realised among them. He revealed that their purpose was to defend the interests of the big bourgeoisie, to misinform and misguide the workers who read the paper.

As the task of the publicist changed his weapon changed too. The features characterising his press surveys were now different. When Karl Marx wanted to criticise the petty bourgeois press and correct its stand, he would write thematic surveys. Taking advantage of a statement which appeared in the Paris paper **Reforme**, organ of petty bourgeois socialists, he condemned in a brief survey entitled "**Reforme** About the June Uprising" the cowardly position of the French republican and socialist press. Having refused to render active support to the insurrectionists – the Paris workers – this press then begged the bourgeoisie to be merciful to the vanquished. In its comments on the March revolution of 1848 the liberal bourgeois **National Zeitung** of Berlin distorted the character of the revolution. In response to this article Marx wrote a serial of two press surveys entitled "The Berlin **National Zeitung** – to the Voters". In the first part he laid bare the confusing and vague reasoning of the

paper on the revolution. He showed that it was due to the fear the bourgeoisie felt in the face of the revolution, if it should have continued. In the second part he denuded the aims the liberal bourgeoisie had set itself: to win concessions from the reactionaries, to acquire a semblance of democracy which, it believed, would prevent another revolutionary upsurge[14].

When Karl Marx wished to render support to the revolutionary democratic and workers' press he would write press surveys in a different form. He would reprint statements from German and foreign democratic newspapers, report on reprisals the reactionaries precipitated on the revolutionary press in an attempt to abolish it. His article "The Police Have Abolished the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung**" was a sort of thematic survey which summed up the results of the policy of reprisals the Prussian authorities conducted against the revolutionary press. The publicist clearly revealed the "red thread" that passed through all the materials of that paper, and its overtly proletarian character: **"Was not the essence of the June revolution the essence of our paper?"**[15]

The experience Karl Marx acquired in the use of press surveys was employed in later years too. Peculiar microsurveys of separate organs of the press were an element of many of his articles and communications printed in the **New York Daily Tribune**. These were surveys of English, French and other papers, reviews on the position upheld by the bourgeois press of some country on a concrete matter. Thus, in the article entitled "Kossuth and Mazzini." – "Intrigues of the Prussian Government." – "The Austrian-Prussian Trade Pact." – "The **Times** and the Exiles" Marx covered a whole range of political and economic events. However, in addition to that, he gave a brief survey of statements printed in the London **Times** which harassed revolutionary exiles from other European countries, demanding that the government should deprive them of the right to political asylum[16]. Describing the atrocities the British troops perpetrated in quelling the mutiny of the Indian sepoys the article "Indian Mutiny" exposed the British bourgeois press which delib-

erately exaggerated the acts of violence the sepoys performed, while remaining silent about the atrocities of the British[17].

In the early 1860s **The New York Daily Tribune** carried Karl Marx's contributions in which he gave a profound and all-round survey of the bigger British bourgeois papers, such as "The London **Times** and Lord Palmerston" or even of the entire bourgeois press of the country. "The View of the Papers and the View of the People" and "Public Opinion in England" were also surveys of the British bourgeois press. They were written in connection with outstanding events in international life. Marx unmasked the class position of the bourgeois papers. He showed that their views were the views of the big bourgeoisie and its government, which did not coincide with the views of the British working people. The conclusions and deductions Marx drew from this analysis far exceeded the limits of one or two publications. They were of tremendous theoretical and practical importance. In these materials the author revealed the fundamental class features and peculiarities of the bourgeois press, the laws governing its functioning and development.

It would be appropriate to note that during these years Karl Marx was highly successful in writing satirical press surveys. In 1859 he published in "Das Volk" 'an emigrants' paper published in London, which he actually edited, a series of surveys of the newspaper **Herrmann** printed in London by H. Kinkel, a German petty bourgeois democrat. (O. Bieskamp, first editor of **Das Volk** also took part in the writing of these materials.) In these surveys Marx ironically commented on the texts which appeared in the organ of the petty bourgeois democrats. He stigmatised their political unprincipledness and illusions harboured by its leaders, their ignorance and their vulgar tastes. As a result, H. Kinkel resigned from the post of editor of the **Herrmann.**

The press surveys written by Karl Marx and also by Friedrich Engels contributed to the formation of the basic features and peculiarities of this genre. They laid a sound foundation for its further development in proletarian journalism.

Karl Marx also made a definite contribution to the development of the review as a genre. The **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** published not only brief bibliographical notes, but also detailed analytical reviews. Some of these were, perhaps, written by Marx. For instance, he could have written reviews on the works of the French historian F. Guizot. In any case, just like most of the other publications of the paper, they were read by the editor-in-chief. They included reviews of works both by democratic authors and by writers, as well as publicists expressing the class positions of the bourgeoisie. The latter were among publications which exposed the character, aims and reasons of policies pursued by the big bourgeoisie during bourgeois revolutions. The writing of six reviews together with Engels for the second and fourth issues of the journal **Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue** marked an important stage in the development of the genre in Karl Marx's publicistic works. It was not fortuitous that the founders of Marxism resorted to the genre of review here. Just like the article and the survey the review, apparently, offered them better possibilities for the accomplishment of the task confronting them. At the time it was vital to sum up the results of the revolution, to establish the character of the new historical situation and prospects for the creation of an independent proletarian party. Although it is difficult exactly to establish the authorship of each review in the journal (because the features characterising the publicistic works of Marx and Engels were so organically fused), there are reasons to believe that the reviews on the books by Guizot and Girardin were written by Marx. However, it was Engels that played a leading part in the writing of revies on Carlyle's lampoons.

The reviews in question dealt with the works of the well-known French historian and statesman F. Guizot, and the French publicist E. de Girardin, two French police agents A. Chenu and L. Delaoud, the eminent English historian and publicist T. Carlyle, the German theologian H. Daumer and the German petty bourgeois democrat L. Simon. Though it may ap-

pear that the authors and their works selected for reviews were accidental, this was not really so. The great proletarian publicists were guided by definite criteria. They were eager to take advantage of the possibility offered by an analysis of a work to raise and examine major problems of social development. At the same time they wanted their review of the given work to contribute to the political education of the readers from among the workers. Thus, the founders of Marxism selected authors and works to write reviews with a critical analysis of the above. This critical analysis was to show the evolution in the views of bourgeois ideologists representing various sections and groups of bourgeois society, which occurred under the impact of the revolution of 1848–1849. This was also a peculiar form of summing up the results of the revolution.

An important feature characterising the reviews of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels is their problem character. As a rule, in each review the authors went far beyond the limits of the work that prompted them to write the review. For instance, in discussing F. Guizot's pamphlet "Why was the English Revolution Successful?" they showed that the conclusion the French historian had arrived at was unfounded. He averred that the English revolution of the 17th century was "successful", because it ensured through its religious character the constitutional development of England without revolutionary eruptions. He pointed out that this was what distinguished it from the French revolution which manifested itself as a destructive force. Marx and Engels pointed out that, although the English revolution resulted in a prolonged alliance between the bourgeoisie and the big land owners, it conditioned, at the same time, extreme aggravation of class antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In contrast to this the French revolution decisively abolished large scale ownership of land. In addition to all, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels showed how the revolution affected the most gifted bourgeois historians. Under its impact they went over to extreme rightist positions in ideology to preach reactionary views and in every

way to belittle the role of revolution in history. Marx and Engels ended the review formulating the conclusion that the class position of a bourgeois ideologist inevitably narrowed his view of life, and his understanding of the historical process.

This conclusion was confirmed and developed in the review of T. Carlyle's "Modern Pamphlets". Showing the shift to the right in the English publicist's ideological-philosophical positions Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels at the same time brought to light the worship of strong personalities in his works. He claimed they played a decisive role in history. They also pointed to the subjective idealistic theory of the historical process which, in the past, had gained currency above all in periods of reactions, after the defeat of revolution.

In their review of H. Daumer's "Religion of the New Age" Marx and Engels featured the fear of people's revolution experienced by the German petty bourgeoisie. It sought salvation from revolution in religion. The authors of the review raised the question of the role religion played in bourgeois society, as a form of social consciousness. They arrived at the conclusion that religion would inevitably disappear as people came to know the laws of social development and accepted their guidance in their activity.

In their reviews Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels showed that they were fully equipped with knowledge to tackle problems from positions of dialectical materialism. In their analysis they were guided above all by the class criterion. This enabled them to disclose the true positions and aims of the authors of the works they reviewed. They were thus able to show the role they played as spokesmen of various groups of bourgeois society. In their reviews of F. Guizot's pamphlet, E. de Girardin's book "Socialism and Taxation" and other authors' works they above all drew the reader's attention to the economic basis of political events. They criticised de Girardin's book for advancing the ideas of bourgeois socialism, the purpose of the latter being to defend the interests of the capitalists. The reviewers opposed the theses and propositions they developed in the ela-

boration of the theory of Marxist political economy to the author's "quack advertisements".

In the review of Guizot's pamphlet Marx and Engels pointed out that the author "overlooked vital points all the time",[18] that he paid no attention to the economic causes and aims behind the events of the revolutions in England and France. They stated that the author, once a profound historian, was unable to give in his analysis anything but an extremely unsatisfactory and banal narration on the purely political side of the events. To substantiate their point they examined with depth the processes that had taken place in British economy giving a brilliant solution to the problems which Guizot regarded as "great enigmas".

In his publicistic works in later years Karl Marx continued to write reviews. The review gave him additional possibilities for dissemination of the ideas of scientific communism. Thus, in 1865 he published in the newspaper **Herrmann** a brief review on a pamphlet Engels wrote "The Military Question in Prussia and the German Labour Party". The review set forth, in a few words, the content of Engels' work and quoted the fundamental conclusions from it. In 1878 Marx published in the London journal **Secular Chronicle, And Record of Freethought Progress** a review entitled "History of the International Working Men's Association Compiled by Mr. George Howell". It was a reply to an article by George Howell, former member of the General Council of the I. International, later a renegade, and British trade union leader, which appeared in an English liberal journal. In his review Marx showed that Howell had grossly distorted the history of the International. He described the role the International played in the development of the revolutionary movement, he pointed to juggling, twisting of facts and outright inventions the author resorted to in his article in an attempt to prove Marx's evil intentions. Marx uncovered the true reason why George Howell broke off with the International: his ambition was to take over the printed organ of the General Council, and in this attempt he had failed. Marx further dis-

closed that the renegade's assertions about the International being a complete failure and about its disappearance from the political scene held no water. The form of review enabled the publicist not only to expose an attempt to distort the history of the International, but also to characterise in detail the new stage in the development of the international proletarian movement.

4. Quickly Intervening in Life

When Karl Marx had to give alive-to-events coverage he used the genre of **report.** His contributions to many papers were reports on political events with an initial analysis on local situations. Some of these reports carried factual material he later used in detailed analytical articles. His brief report on "The Revolution in Vienna" informed the readers on the uprising of the Vienna workers early in October 1848. The author expressed a high opinion of the workers' action and warned that the treacherous policy of the Vienna bourgeoisie was a threat to the insurrectionists. Later, when the uprising was suppressed by the Austrian warlords, Marx repeatedly returned to this warning in his later articles. Marx gave quick coverage in his reports of such rapidly passing political events as the reactionary statement of the King of Prussia to a deputation from the Berlin National Assembly, the obsequious appeal of the Cologne magistracy to the king requesting him to depose the government ("The Magistracy"), and the introduction of a state of siege in Düsseldorf and other cities and towns of the Rhine Province ("State of Siege Everywhere"). In these reports he gave a brief account of the facts and a concentrated appraisal of the situation that had taken shape in the course of the revolution in Germany. Many of his contributions to the **New York Daily Tribune** were also reports which were alive-to-events. However, they contained an initial analysis of the political events in Britain and on the European continent.

The present author has found specimens of other publicistic genres in Karl Marx's publicistic heritage. One of these was the **informational communication.** Marx had a high opinion of newspaper information as a form of quick intervention in life by a journalist. He regarded it as a means for informing the proletarian masses about the events of political life. Every issue of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** carried a multitude of alive-to-events reports on the revolutionary situation that was taking shape in various areas of Germany and beyond its frontiers. The editor-in-chief wrote some of these himself to cover the most important developments. To make his reports more effective he invariably introduced in them an element of appraisal of the events. Though this element of appraisal was of an initial character, it expressed the author's attitude to the event. Quite often Marx would include in the ending his recommendations to help the worker reading the paper correctly to understand the current developments[19].

Sometimes, in relatively few cases, Karl Marx would resort to the genre of **account.** For instance, the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** published dozens of accounts on the debates in the Frankfurt and Berlin National Assemblies. Most of them were written by other publicists working for the paper. Friedrich Engels was particularly good at writing them. The skillfully combined information value, i. e. detailed presentation of the course of the debate, with problem character and analysis. After careful thought Marx selected the form of the account for his first publications in the **Rheinische Zeitung.** Among these were, for instance, "The Debates on the Freedom of the Press . . ." and "The Debates on Thefts of Wood". In the preparation of these contributions the main source of information was the minutes of the Landtag meetings. These were problem articles in effect. However, in writing them Marx chose the form of an account, because it opened for him the possibility to reproduce all the essential details of the proceedings and, as a result of analysis of the available information, to draw profound conclusions of considerable scope.

Elements of the account can be found in some of Karl Marx's later publications. Many of his contributions of the 1850s–early 1860s included peculiar micro-accounts on the proceedings in British Parliament, discussions on new bills and state budget. Sometimes Marx set forth in brief the content of the speeches during the debate. In other cases his accounts of the speeches would be more detailed and, in addition, they would be accompanied by comments. For instance, in July 1853 he wrote a report entitled "Russian Policy Towards Turkey. – The Workers' Movement". The second half of the contribution was an account on a mass rally organised by the Chartists. It carried a detailed narrative of the speeches E. Jones and other Chartist leaders made at it.

The author's comments played a special role in Karl Marx's accounts. He effectively disclosed, as if working with a scalpel, the contradictions in the speeches of bourgeois politicians. The author's comments enabled him to refute the speaker's arguments, lay bare the class interests and aims behind their appeals and actions. Here is an example of how Marx used comments in the article "Layard's Motion. Struggle Over the Ten Hours' Bill". Having informed the readers about the bill on limiting the factory workers' working day to ten hours, which was submitted by Cobbet, member of Parliament, the author then gave the following comment on the proceedings:

"During the preliminary debate, Lord Palmerston, in the warmth of improvisation, allowed a distinct threat to escape him, that, if no other means for protecting the factory women and children existed, he would propose a restriction of the moving power. The sentence had scarcely fallen from his lips, when a general storm of indignation burst forth against the incautious statesman, not only from the direct representatives of millocracy, but particularly from their and his own Whig friends, such as Sir George Grey, Mr. Labouchere, etc. Lord J. Russel having taken Palmerston aside, and after half an hour's private pourparler (talks. – Ed.) had to labour very hard to appease the storm, by assuring them that 'it appeared to him that

his honourable friend had been entirely misunderstood, and that expressing himself **for** a restriction of the moving power, his friend had meant to express himself **against** it.' Such absurd compromises are the daily bread of the Coalition."[20]

The author's comments enabled Marx to unmask the hypocrisy of the bourgeois members of Parliament and bare the true aims of the home policy they pursued. They were eager to intensify the exploitation of the workers. At the same time Marx exposed the double-facedness of the Tories and Whigs – the two contending parties at the time – who joined hands to defend the interests of the capitalists.

The students who have studied Karl Marx's publicistic heritage could not help noticing that he never wrote **interviews**, a most popular genre today. This does not mean that Marx failed to see the possibilities offered by this genre and did not attach due importance to it. Interviews as a form of purposeful conversation in which the publicist collected the information he needed played a big role in Marx's accumulation of material for his contributions to the press. During revolutions Marx frequently and willingly talked to workers, leaders of proletarian and democratic organisations, democratic members of national assemblies, editors of papers and others. While in London, when he was leader of the International and after it was dissolved, he met A. Bebel, W. Liebknecht, G. Guesde, P. Lavrov and G. Lopatin. Each meeting gave him something new, some additional information for his writings in the press.

Karl Marx not only used the interview as a method of work. He would also grant interviews to correspondents working for various newspapers and journals, including bourgeois organs of the press. He regarded the interview as a possibility to disseminate his views, to exercise an influence on public opinion. The journalists diplayed an interest in his personality, his views and opinions, particularly in the 1870s. This was not only due to their desire for sensational materials, but also to the influence Marxist ideas exercised on the readers. This was

a sign of indirect recognition of this influence. The interest of the journalists also reflected Marx's distinguished role in the development of socialism. Thus, on July 18, 1871 **The World,** an American daily paper of the Democratic Party, published an interview Marx granted to R. Landor, London correspondent of the paper. Karl Marx explained the character and aims of the I. International, his attitude to the Paris Commune and stated his stand on other topical issues. In January 1879, **The Chicago Tribune** carried another interview Marx gave to its correspondent. It was later reprinted by many socialist papers in the USA. In this interview Marx set forth his ideas about the role the International played in the international working class movement and refuted the slander the bourgeois press spread about the Paris Communards.

Granting interviews to socialist and bourgeois papers to disseminate communist ideas and to give their views on outstanding political events the founders of Marxism formulated their requirements to this genre at the same time. In addition, they actively contributed to its development. Their main requirement was truthfulness, faithful rendering in the interview of the ideas, opinions and "meaning" of the statements the person granting the interview advanced. To guarantee the fulfilment of this requirement they maintained that the journalist taking the interview should submit, prior to publication, the text for approval by the person who granted the interview.

However, Karl Marx's publicistic heritage contains no interviews. The present author believes this is due to a number of reasons. The first reason was: during the period from the late 1840s to the early 1850s, i. e. the period of Marx's most active journalistic-publicistic activity, the interview as a genre had not yet taken shape. It began to develop vigorously in the American, French and English bourgeois press some years from then. And from the start this genre acquired a specific, sensational character typical of the bourgeois press. The interview was widely used for spreading false information designed to misguide the working people. It was, apparently, this circum-

stance that prevented Marx and Engels from employing it in their publicistic work.

One of Karl Marx's favourite publicistic genres was the **lampoon** (also known as the **pamphlet**). The present author intends to examine the attitude of the great proletarian thinker to satire and his role in its development in a later chapter of the book. Here the present author will deal only with some of the peculiarities of his creative works in this genre.

Karl Marx produced unsurpassed specimens of the political lampoon. They reveal that his satirical talent was no inferior to that of any of his predecessors or contemporaries. More than that, he excelled many of them by his extremely rare ability to feel and perceive the "humour of history". He was able to see how history mercilessly taunted members of the old, departing exploiting classes. He was also distinguished for his skill in the use of satire in the struggle for the interests of the proletariat. In his creative works Karl Marx proceeded from the best traditions of satirical publicism of the past – progressive publicists of the Renaissance, German Reformation, the Great French Revolution of the late 18th century, the English publicist W. Cobbet and others. His own lampoons marked the summit in the development of these traditions. At the same time they marked a qualitatively new stage in the moulding of the genre. Marx's lampoons were characterised by clear-cut class positions and a desire to create in his works satirical images embodying definite classes and social groups. His lampoons had scope. They struck not at separate weaknesses and peculiar evils of bourgeois society, but at the entire system of social injustice, oppression and exploitation of the popular masses. In the case of Marx the lampoon became a weapon he fought the enemies of the revolution and of the proletariat with.

Satire was typical of many of Karl Marx's theoretical works, works he had written on his own or in cooperation with Friedrich Engels. Not only separate pages, but also whole chapters of "The Holy Family", "The German Ideology" and

"The Poverty of Philosophy" were written in the satirical key typical of a lampoon. Even some of the pages of "Capital" had been written in that key. Marx was able to try a free hand in lampoon writing, when he worked for the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung.** It was then that he wrote the lampoons "The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty", "The Dynasty's Shield", "Camphausen" and a few others. In these works he condemned the reactionaries and their henchmen from among the bourgeoisie. The lampoons evoked broad response, admiration on the part of the workers and revolutionary democrats, and frenzy on the part of the counter-revolutionaries.

In writing lampoons for the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** Karl Marx acquired experience that helped him produce big polemical works, such as "Herr Vogt" and "Great Men of the Exile". In many other works, such as "The Class Struggle in France from 1848 to 1850", "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte", and "The Civil War in France" he introduced lampoon pages and sections. Having placed the lampoon in the service of the interests of history's most progressive class – the proletariat – Marx employed all the potentialities of the genre, displaying a wide variety of its forms and its inexhaustible resources.

Although the features and elements of the reportage were more typical of Friedrich Engels' publicistic works, particularly his travel notes, some of Karl Marx's newspaper materials were characterised by **reportage** features too. When he took part in some event and observed its development, he frequently gave in his report a picture of what he witnessed. In it he would reproduce vivid details. Most of the materials the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** published, particularly the reports on events in various parts of Germany, not only sought to inform the readers about them, but also show them how everything happened.

The present author has already pointed out above that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were universal publicists who wrote works in most of the existing newspaper-journal genres. However, each of them gave preference to a certain group of

genres. For instance, Marx would seldom make use of the newspaper account. In contrast to this, Engels was expert in this genre. His publicistic works reveal an incomparably greater inclination towards presentation of life in images. This "division of labour" helped the great proletarian publicists complement one another and to make use of all the possibilities offered by "genre painting" in publicism.

Karl Marx pioneered in the use of certain other forms for the presentation of materials to the mass audience through the press. For instance, he would publish the texts of his speeches and other oral statements. Many of Marx's contemporaries said he was a remarkable speaker and lecturer. When he addressed working class audiences at rallies, meetings and sittings of the General Council of the I. International his speeches produced an indelible impression on them. These addresses were a form of publicism by word of mouth. It was just as brilliant, logical, convincing and figurative as his printed publicistic works. His addresses like the "Speech on Freedom of Trade", "Speech at a Jubilee of **The People's Paper**", or his speeches in defence of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** at two trials of the paper (which were published as a separate pamphlet together with Engels' speeches) are justly regarded as publicistic masterpieces.

In his revolutionary-party activities Karl Marx strengthened the inseverable link between propaganda by word of mouth and printed propaganda. He showed that they penetrated one another and exercised an influence on each other. He made use of all the potentialities of publicism, the specifics of its genres, various forms of presentation of materials to accomplish the tasks he set himself.

Chapter V

The Form has content

1. "We want the workers to understand us".

Karl Marx's publicistic works are vivid example of interdependence between content and form, i. e. the two are conditioned by each another. The form of every publicistic work Marx wrote was determined by its content, theme, and idea. The form was intended to express in the fullest possible degree the essence of the work. We can give both the essential peculiarities characterising the forms of Karl Marx's publicistic works and the main components. The peculiarities are: people's character, and popularity. The main components are: the composition (arrangement) and style. Below the present author will attempt to define the terms he has used and to reveal their content (meaning).

First let us discuss the people's (folk) character of Marx's publicistic works. What do we understand by it? The founders of Marxism inherited the principle of people's (folk) character of the press from their democratic predecessors–Lessing, Wirth, Börne, the publicists of the Great French Revolution of the late 18th century, and progressive British publicists. But Marx and Engels developed and enriched this principle. They linked it closely with the party character of the press and established the class basis of people's character in journalism. The statements Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels made in various periods of their social activity give us an idea of their views on the people's character of the press. In the beginning of his work in the field of publicism Marx clearly revealed one of the aspects of his understanding of the people's character in journalism. He maintained that the people's character of the press meant that the democratic press should express the vital inter-

ests of the popular masses, their hopes, aspirations, thoughts and feelings. He wrote: "The press is, and should be, nothing but **public**, admittedly often ... 'expression of the daily thoughts and feelings of a people that really thinks as a people ...' It is rooted in the people and honestly sympathises with all the latter's hopes and fears and hatred, joys and sorrows".[1]

At the same time, as the founders of Marxism saw it, the people's character of the press meant the defence (through journalism) of the popular masses and their advanced spokesmen against the exploiting classes–the gentry, bourgeoisie and their machine of compulsion and force, namely the police and judiciary. In his article "Debates on the Law on the Thefts of Wood" Karl Marx proclaimed the right and duty of the democratic press and publicists to come out in defence of the oppressed masses. He clearly stated his intention to defend the interests of the "poor, politically and socially deprived mass ...".[2] Marx realised his intention, when he featured the Rhine Landtag defending the private interests of the forest owners and trampling the rights of the poor underfoot. Already in the first issue of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** he started to defend the participants in the revolutionary movement. He exposed in it the intrigues of the judicial authorities, condemned the police and reactionary warlords for persecuting the workers and revolutionary democrats. He defended the honour of the fighters who challenged the bourgeoisie with arms in hand on the barricades.

In their work as journalists and publicists Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels disclosed a new, hitherto unknown, aspect of the people's character of the press and publicism. They sought not only to create a press for the masses of people, but also to turn it into a **press of the masses themselves.** This was particularly manifest in the issue of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung.** In establishing a ramified network of **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** correspondents and recruiting participants in the revolutionary

movement, including workers and soldiers, for the job, inviting readers to write letters to the editors (which he printed in every issue) and making broad use of works written by editors-publicists, Marx sought to turn the paper into an organiser, to enlist the broad masses, the workers above all, in its preparation and printing. The large number of letters from workers, soldiers, poor peasants and farm labourers made the paper of Marx and Engels radically different from liberal-bourgeois and monarchist publications.

The idea of the people's character of the press paved the way for turning revolutionary democratic and particularly proletarian papers and journals into mass periodical publications. The **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** made the first step along this road. Ultimately, after October 1917, a really mass people's press appeared in Russia.

Bearing in mind the three above aspects of Karl Marx's idea of the people's character in journalism we can now discuss the people's character of his publicistic works. His publicistic works expressed the vital interests of the popular, proletarian masses. They defended the masses and drew them into the working class movement, in particular into work in the revolutionary press.

The people's character of Karl Marx's publicistic works also manifested itself in their popularity. The idea of popularity with reference to Marx's publicistic work has several interconnected aspects. It above all meant clarity of the work which can be easily understood by all those for whom it was written. It should be mentioned that popularity equally applies both to publicistic works and scientific works produced by the founders of Marxism. It applies both to written, printed, and oral statements, such as reports, speeches at congresses, conferences, rallies and meetings of workers. When Marx started to print in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** the "Wage Labour and Capital" serial, he said he would try to set forth all the complicated problems of political economy as simply as possible, in the most popular language.[3] It follows that, in his view, popu-

larity meant clarity, in the presentation of complicated questions. At the same time popularity implied the author's desire to raise the level of the reader, to broaden his outlook, kindle in him a longing for information he could obtain from publicistic and scientific literature, information that would serve as a guide in the present political situation. In the one hand, this purpose could be achieved by supplying an abundance of varied information to the more developed reader on various aspects of social life, and on the other, by **explaining** to the less developed reader his social status, his class duty and tasks arising therefrom. Marx used to say: "We want the workers to understand us".[4] He would then proceed with the explanation of theoretical questions without realising, he would say, that the reader did not have an inkling of even the most elementary concepts of political economy[5].

In producing his most complicated theoretical works Karl Marx gave thought to presenting the material in simple, clear and understandable form. When he put out volume one of "Capital" in 1867, he emphasised in the preface that it was his intention to make the analysis of the categories of political economy "popular inasmuch as it was possible".[6] He, therefore, stated that the book, with the exception of the section dealing with the form of value, was not difficult to understand. It was highly important to the briliant thinker to ensure that not only scientists and scholars, but also the workers, particularly advanced workers should be able to read his work and understand it so that they could master the theory of Marxism. He wrote: "I pre-suppose, of course, a reader who is willing to learn something new and therefore to think for himself."[7]

These ideas of Karl Marx are directly linked with the ideas of Vladimir Lenin on the need for popularisation in publicism and science and on the task of the popular writer. The latter, V. I. Lenin wrote, "assumes in the undeveloped reader a serious intention to use his head and **aids** him in his serious and difficult work, **leads** him, helps him over his first steps, and **teaches** him to go forward independently".[8]

The need for popularity in publicistic works is above all conditioned by the character of the readers. Thus, Karl Marx wrote: "To act with any success, the materials to be acted upon must be known".[9] This thesis is valid not only for determining the type and character of a concrete paper or journal, but also for ensuring popularity of publicistic works. Indeed, the success of a publicist determined, in particular, by the popularity of his works is hinged, as Friedrich Engels put it, on the knowledge that "the public you want to address is listening to you."[10] Unless the publicist knows this and is certain of this, he will find it difficult to choose a form of address that would enable him to bring home its message to the reader. Forwarding to Josef Weydemeyer (USA) materials for his journal **Revolution** Marx wrote to him that it was difficult to work for a paper published on the other side of the ocean[11], because you do not know the public.

All of Karl Marx's publicistic acitivity shows that he was oriented on a definite audience, that he took into account the character of his potential readers. Writing for the **Rheinische Zeitung** and addressing yourself to German petty bourgeois intellectuals was one thing, and writing for the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** and addressing yourself to workers and peasants was a totally different thing. Here the publicist had to set forth his ideas with utmost clarity, he had to display skill in explaining the essence of complicated questions and concepts in simple terms. During this period Marx considerably simplified the form of his statements. He resorted to simple, but vivid similes and comparisons which helped the readers understand the import of the events covered.

The reading audience and its features, as Karl Marx saw it, determined the type of periodical publication. The readers of a journal presented to the author somewhat different requirements as compared to those presented by the readers of a paper. The founders of Marxism time and again pointed to the difference between the newspaper and the journal–their tasks and possibilities. In notifying the readers about the issue

of the journal **Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Politisch-ökonomische Revue** they gave a classical definition of a paper and a journal. As Marx and Engels put it, the main features of a newspaper were topicality, alive-to-events reporting, constant contact with current events and all-round reflection of life.

To a large degree these features do not apply to a journal. However, the founders of Marxism wrote, the journal had the advantage of making it possible to examine events on a broader plane and to deal with only the most important developments. Though the journal does not report events as quickly as a newspaper and though it does not exercise an uninterrupted influence on the reader, it has the advantage or presenting reality in broader scope, of examining the more important social phenomena and processes with greater depth.

Proceeding from his understanding of the difference between the newspaper and the journal, Karl Marx presented definite requirements to the materials to be published in each. This meant that the publicist should not write for the paper as he wrote for the journal. An article written for a theoretical journal might not be understood by many of the people who read a mass paper. And contrarywise, an alive-to-events report written for the newspaper would not accomplish its task, if printed in a journal. It was because of this that Marx asked Engels to write livelier articles on military themes, which were intended for publication in the **New York Daily Tribune.** Being a mass paper for "everybody" it was necessary to comply with this requirement. In the author's view, the introduction in the text of descriptive and individual elements would make the articles more popular.[12]

If a publicist writes for a paper whose readers are eager for the latest, topical news, he has to pay more attention to making his contributions alive-to-events. He has to resort more frequently to the more mobile genres of information and reports, limit the scope and depth of analysis of concrete events and situations. When writing a material for a journal, particularly a theoretical journal, the author may sacrifice the element

of quickness of response to concentrate his attention on the vital and decisive social processes and tendencies governing development, to deepen his analysis and increase its scope. In this case the author's main weapon is the problem article, survey or review, because they best meet the above requirements.

Finally, it is vital to mention that Karl Marx took into account the peculiar features of various types of progressive, proletarian press–legal, illegal, emigrants' (exile) press–which took shape depending on the conditions of work. He also took into account the requirements the readers presented to the press. When he worked as a journalist and publicist he contributed to all types of press enumerated above. More than that, he helped create and develop all these types of press. He would contribute materials to each, trying to meet the conditions in which the publications worked, to take account of the readers of each publication. He made use of forms and methods of management, which best suited the conditions the organs of the press had to work in.

The **Rheinische Zeitung** was subjected to severe, then double and later triple censorship. As Karl Marx wrote, when he worked on the staff of that paper, he conducted a persistent struggle for its existence[13]. A struggle imbued by a sense of duty, a struggle not detected by the public. At the time he still believed it would be possible to use the legal progressive press as an instrument for democratic transformation of society and for the accomplishment of the difficult task of "winning freedom step by step within the constitutional framework . . .".[14]

He was an unexcelled tactician in fighting against censorship. Time and again he would force the censors to give their consent to the publication of his articles. Marx avoided overt demonstrations against the Prussian government. As he put it, he was prepared to sustain harassment of the censors rather than surrender the battlefield to the police and the censors. He could not bear to let violence accomplish its plans[15]. Even his sharpest articles in the **Rheinische Zeitung** did not give the censors any formal grounds for imposing a ban on them. Outward-

ly the author never overstepped the limits of legality, when he condemned the authorities for breaking the laws of the state.

One can easily understand that Karl Marx could not get much satisfaction out of the forms of struggle he engaged in in pursuit of his aims. At the time he wrote A. Ruge that he "hated being under a yoke even in the name of freedom; he hated resorting to pinpricks, instead of fighting with clubs . . .".

He was tired of adjusting himself to the conditions, of shifting, submitting to and heeding every minor cavil of the censors[16]. However, Marx would never surrender his principles, he defied the most trying circumstances and the mounting pressures of the censors. While working for a paper subject to censorship the publicist wrote he would rather remain silent than agree with his opponents. He brought the charge of unprincipledness against the journalists who worked for the liberal **National Zeitung** published in Berlin[17] (when a state of siege had been introduced in the city). Marx saw he was unable to learn to live "by an illusion of freedom"[18] while working for a paper subject to censorship. When the **Rheinische Zeitung** was suppressed, Marx remarked that the government had returned real freedom to him, and that now he would pin his hopes on the press that was free from censorship.

It was only emigrant publications printed outside Germany that were free from censorship. Together with A. Ruge he edited the **Deutsch-Französiche Jahrbücher,** contributed to **Vorwärts** published in Paris, the **Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung** and managed **Das Volk** in London.

These publications were, naturally, free from German censorship. The Prussian authorities could not prosecute their editors. But you had to conform to the laws of the country the paper or journal was published in. Marx's contributions to his press were, of course, different in character from those he wrote for the press subject to censorship. Here he was able openly to criticise the foundations of the Prussian monarchist state and of the other German states too. He set forth an action programme for the revolutionary proletarian party, worked out

the tactics for the proletarian movement. He castigated the defenders of the absolute monarchy and exposed the liberal bourgeoisie. But the emigrant press had a major weakness, and Marx took it into account. The papers and journals issued outside the native country had a small audience. As a result, the influence they exercised on the masses was inadequate. Their distribution in Germany was fiercely thwarted by the police. Entire editions were confiscated on the frontiers and the distributors were prosecuted. In addition, the editors of emigrant publications were always short of information on Germany. This, of course, lessened the effect of the published materials. One of the most difficult tasks was the distribution of such publications outside the country of origin.

Only an efficient, well-thought out distribution system could turn a newspaper or journal published abroad into a potent instrument of political propaganda. The weekly **Der Sozialdemocrat**, organ of the German Social Democrats published first in Zurich and then in London, was precisely such a paper. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels took an active part in its founding, establishment, and helped organise its distribution. It was an illegal paper which, naturally, expressed its views and opinions with full freedom. It could boldly pump "fresh air"[19] into Germany with full disregard for its laws. The splendidly organised "red postal service", i. e. the distribution network, delivered every issue to the addressees without fail. And not even the immigration officials, police spies or provocateurs could stem the regular flow of these editions into Germany.

However, the most favourable possibilities for creative work were open to publicists writing for the legal press not subject to censorship during the revolutions. Karl Marx enjoyed such an opportunity for publicistic work only once during his lifetime. And that was when he worked at the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** in conditions of absolute and unrestricted freedom. And he made full use of it. No wonder, it was precisely then that he produced his publicistic masterpieces. He achieved unprecedented heights in creative journalism, and this gave him

the greatest satisfaction. Later Friedrich Engels wrote that at such a time you can "clearly see the effect of every word, see how the articles hit like grenades and how the shell that has been fired bursts".[20]

Thus, Karl Marx taking due account of the specific character of his readers, the type of press he was writing for and the type of periodical that published his works, all this largely made for the popularity of his publicistic works.

2. Logical Structure of a Work

Composition is one of the most important elements of a publicistic work. By composition the present author means the structure of the text, i. e. the arrangement of its parts and the manner in which they are connected. The perception and understanding of a work by the reader largely depend on the structure. It may either help the reader grasp the author's idea, or, if the structure is poor, it may prevent him from doing so.

In our examination of Karl Marx's publicistic works we would prefer to speak of their logical structure. The attribute logical is intended to show that the structure of all of Marx's materials pursues several aims. First, to reveal the author's idea, second, to develop his thoughts and substantiate his theses, and, third, to formulate the conclusion. The logic of Marx's publicistic analysis and synthesis determines the logical structure of his works and their composition. Clarity of composition is an indicator of clarity of thought, clarity of the aim the publicist pursued in every work and clarity of his idea.

Karl Marx, beyond doubt, gave careful thought to the plans of most of his writings which appeared in newspapers and journals. This applied, in particular, to his big works dealing with important social problems. As the author organised the publicistic material into a streamlined work he drew creative inspiration from the plan that determined the main compo-

nents and elements of the work he was writing. Sometimes Marx would give the publisher or editor of the periodical he was writing for a general idea of the plan. In some of his works he would include an outline of the plan. For instance, in his article "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel" he included five main rubrics as a guideline for the arrangement of his material[21]. It appears that he did this not only to help the reader grasp the entire content of his reply to Oberpräsident von Schaper[22], but also to give him (i. e. the reader) an idea of all the questions he intended to cover and of the character of the material in whole, because the censors had threatened to discontinue its publication. It is a fact that out of the five original rubrics he was able to cover only two. The censors suppressed the publication of the remaining installments. And we can form an idea of their content only on the basis of the plan given in the first installment.

Sometimes Karl Marx would acquaint the readers with the plan of his work to help them understand the complicated theoretical questions he was dealing with. Thus, in the first installment of the serial "Wage Labour and Capital" he clearly outlined the entire range of questions he was going to discuss and the structure of the whole work. He wrote: "We shall present in three large sections:

1. the relation of **wage labour to capital**, the slavery of the worker, the domination of the capitalist;

2. **the inevitable destruction of the middle bourgeois classes and the peasant estate under the present system**;

3. **the commercial subjugation and exploitation of the bourgeois classes of the various European nations** by the despot of the world market–England."[23]

The composition of Karl Marx's publicistic works (just like the works of other publicists) comprised four main elements: heading (headline, title), beginning, division of the text

into sections, and ending. Let us look into the specific character of these structural elements in a publicistic work of Marx's.

Heading. As the first element of the structure it played a special role. This was the first thing the reader learnt about the publication. He judged the entire material by the heading. It was the heading that would prompt him to read the work or to reject it. Therefore, a most important function of the heading was to attract the reader's attention, to fix it, to excite his interest in the publication and to urge him to read it. The headings of most of Karl Marx's publicistic works effectively accomplished this purpose. It should also be mentioned that in the first half of the 19th century, i. e. when Marx started to work in journalism, headings of materials for newspapers and journals were only beginning to take shape. Practically none of the materials in the newspapers had headings or headlines in the contemporary meaning of the term. Only some of the publications would have headings. Usually it was the special articles printed at the bottom of the page that bore headings. As a rule, most of the headings would appear on the front page under a sort of "Notice": "In Today's Issue". In some cases a report would bear a geographical name, i. e. the name of the city, town or village it had come from. Marx made a major contribution to the moulding of newspaper and journal headlines and to the stepping up of their role. There is every reason to believe that the headings of his publicistic works had an identifiable "personality" of their own. They were characterised by definite features. What were these features?

Every heading in Karl Marx's publicistic writings "worked", as they say today. It gave a rather full idea of the material it referred to and attracted the reader's attention. It was distinguished for its brevity, content and simplicity. Marx never used complicated, confusing headings that were difficult to understand. Everyone of them was simple, and the reader had no difficulty whatever in understanding it. The founders of Marxism attached particular importance to simplicity and clarity of headings. This is evidenced by the exchange of letters be-

tween them over a period of nearly two months on the title of the lampoon "Herr Vogt".

Initially, Marx wanted the heading to intrigue the reader. Engels flatly rejected the idea, he was against mysterious headings. He used to say that you could understand them, only having read half of the whole work. He, therefore, wrote to Marx:

"The simpler the heading, the less pretentious it is, the better."[24] He also repeated: "A simple heading is always the best one."[25]

Marx agreed with his friend and gave his lampoon a simple heading with a shade of contempt: "Herr Vogt".

Karl Marx's headings can be subdivided into several principal types. In most cases the heading reflected the theme and the main idea of the publication: "Debates on Thefts of Wood", "Suppression of the **Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung**," "Prussian Bill on the Press," "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-revolution", "The Conditions of Factory Workers", and "On the Emancipation of the Peasants in Russia".

Such headings clearly showed what the publicist was writing about and what theme he was expounding. Sometimes the heading was of an informational character. In other cases it would have bearing on an event. Then it would depart from the event that prompted the author to write about it: "Camphausen Ministry Falls", and "Revolution in Vienna". In most cases such headings were given to alive-to-political events reports. However, there were instances, when Marx gave such headings to analytical articles, such as "Proudhon's Speech Against Thiers".

Frequently the headings of Karl Marx's publicistic works clearly stated the author's position, his attitude towards a given event and appraised it from a party standpoint. "German Professorial Baseness" was a heading Marx used for a commentary on the subservient message a group of professors of Berlin and Halle sent to the King of Prussia. He entitled an article "A Bourgeois Document" on the introduction of "worker's cards" for the proletarians in Cologne. Such headings would immedi-

ately give the reader an idea of the theme the author expounded in the material. The reader instantly knew who was eager to restrict workers' rights. The founders of Marxism found a very apt expression for characterising the Royal Edict on the enforcement of a state of siege in Prussia in May 1849. They called it "The New Martial Law Charter". The heading "hit the nail on the head" disclosing the essence of the edict and the author's attitude to it. In 1853 Marx wrote an article on the attempts of William Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to cut the national debt by exchanging government securities. The author expressed what he thought about these manipulations in the heading "Another Financial Swindle, or Gladstone and the Pennies". Commenting on the diplomatic notes Napoleon III sent to the European governments in an attempt to justify his policy towards Italy, Karl Marx referred to them as "Sweet Speeches".

Karl Marx did not use very frequently headings indicative of the genre the publication was written in or of its character. For instance, "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article ‚The King of Prussia and Social Reform' by a Prussian" was a publication that criticised A. Ruge's statement in the press. However, he willingly used satirical headings. These were typical of practically all of his lampoons. One, of these was "The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty" which condemned the disgraceful deeds of this royal house of Prussia. Another was "The Knight of the Noble Consciousness" featured A. Millich, German democrat who intrigued in exile against the founders of Marxism. Another lampoon Marx wrote with Engels on the leaders of the petty bourgeois exiles had a particularly sarcastic heading: "The Great Men of the Exile".

Some of the publications written in other genres had satirical headings too: "A Model Constitutional State." This was an article on the situation in Belgium which the European liberal bourgeoisie regarded as a model constitutional monarchy. The irony in the heading prepared the reader for scathing criticism of the social relations in that country.

When Marx learnt that a state of siege had been introduced in Düsseldorf, he wrote an article entitled "Drigalski–Legislator, Citizen and Communist". In the heading the author ridiculed the statement of General Drigalski, commandant of the city, who had declared himself a communist devoted to god and the king.

In a two-article serial Marx disclosed the attempts of bourgeois demagogues to preach class conciliation between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. He entitled it "Montesquieu LVI". In this serial Marx ironically compared the author of a publication which appeared in the **Kölnische Zeitung** with the distinguished French economist and enlightener Charles Montesquieu. The liberal bourgeois author tried to proceed in his deliberations from propositions of political economy he had failed to comprehend properly.

Karl Marx entitled an article on the provocations of the Prussian warlords in Cologne late in September 1848 – "The Cologne Revolution". The sarcasm in the heading expressed the author's attitude to the actions of the reactionaries.

Informing the readers about the forthcoming trial of the editors and publisher of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** on charges of libel Karl Marx entitled the report "Libel of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung**". The heading was in sharp contrast with the content of the report. It, therefore, conveyed the opposite meaning.

The headings of several other works were based on ironical contrast. For instance, "My Plagiarism of F. Bastiat". In this work Marx irrefutably proved the libellous character of the charges brought against him. His opponent tried to accuse him of borrowing the definition of value in "Capital" from F. Bastiat, French vulgar economist.

Some of the headings contained a call to definite action and brought forth fighting slogans. Thus, during the conflict between the Berlin National Assembly and the King of Prussia in November 1848 Karl Marx published many of his notes in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** under one and the same heading

"No More Taxes!!!". He urged the people of the Rhine Province to boycott the Prussian tax authorities.

The structure of headings in Karl Marx's publicistic works had its own distinguishing features. Most of them were brief, consisting of one or two-three words sometimes connected with prepositions. For instance: "The Revolutionary Movement", "The Crisis in France", "Taxes in India", and "Monsieur Fould". There were headings consisting of one word only: "Peace", "Invasion!" and "Chartists." The author found it enough to use only one word to state the theme of his article. However, Marx used extended headings. Their purpose was to give the reader a more detailed insight into the theme. For instance, "How did Mr. Gladstone's Letter to the Bank of England in 1866 Provide Russia with a Loan of Six Million Pounds Sterling". Extended structures were also intended to produce a satirical effect. "Pounds, Shillings and Pence, or the Class Budget and Whom it Benefits" was the heading of an article criticising the British state budget.

An analysis of the methods Karl Marx used to create his headings would be of interest too. Quite often they were based on a vivid simile, metaphore or metonymy. "The Shield of the Dynasty" is a figure of speech, a simile, Marx used as a heading for a lampoon he wrote about Camphausen. The latter headed the first post-revolutionary bourgeois government of Prussia that stood up in defence of the monarchy. "A Sigh from the Tuilleries" is a metonymy used in the heading of an article about the letters Napoleon III wrote to his supporters in England. "The Spree and the Mincio" is a comparison of two rivers–the Spree which flows through Berlin and the Mincio on the banks of which the Austrians had suffered defeat. This comparison enabled the author to create an expressive figure of speech in his heading. In December 1861 Marx wrote an article about the people who were parties to the **Trent** incident. The **Trent** was a British mail boat a North State warship searched, this incident nearly sparking off a war between the Northern States and England. Marx entitled the article "Leading Men in

the **Trent** Drama". Comparing the incident to a drama and the parties to it to actors played down the importance of the event.

To make his headings figures of speech Karl Marx frequently referred to literary associations, quoted from literary works, sayings. He would also construct them on puns. Having written a critical article about the reactionary **Neue Preussische Zeitung** he coined the heading– "Confessions of a Noble Soul" – on the basis of an image from book six of Goethe's novel "Wilhelm Meister" (with particular reference to his schooldays). In the heading "Soap for the People, Sop for the **Times**" is a play on the English words "soap" and "sop". The title "Quid pro quo" (one thing in return for another) is an old Latin word combination.

Karl Marx readily used the name of a negative character in the heading: "Hume", "Herr Bucher", "Lord Palmerston", "Herr Vogt", and "Mr. Washburn, American Ambassador to Paris". Sometimes he resorted to this method to give information on people whom the publicist liked. Marx headed his report on the arrest of Ferdinand Lassalle and his trial "Lassalle". "Mikhail Bakunin" was a heading of a brief article he sent to a London paper to defend Bakunin against libel. Such headings would attract the readers' attention, because they would naturally want to know why the person concerned had earned the right to a place in the headlines.

When Karl Marx wrote a press survey, an article on a statement in a bourgeois paper, disproved insinuations in the bourgeois press about proletarian revolutionaries, he would frequently mention the name of the periodical in the heading. For instance, "The Leading Article in No. 179 of the **Kölnische Zeitung**", "Communism of the Newspaper **Rheinischer Beobachter**", "The **Frankfurter Oberpostamts-Zeitung** and the Vienna Revolution", "The London **Times** and Lord Palmerston". Such headings clearly set forth the reasons for and themes of Marx's writings.

Sometimes the name of the document Karl Marx analysed would be used as the heading. He wrote an article baring the

hollow character of an appeal issued by the organ of German democrats urging the people to aid the workers of Vienna who staged an insurrection. He entitled it: "Appeal of the Democratic Congress to the German People".

Some of the headings are worded in the form of questions: "Peace or War?", "What has Italy Gained?". In these articles the publicist analysed the prospects for a clash of French and Italian forces with the Austrian army and the consequences of such a development.

In the 1850s–1860s Karl Marx used "composite" headings in his publicistic works with increasing frequency. They actually comprised several titles. These were typical of his articles and reports made up of several parts dealing with different political and economic events, such as: "Elections in Britain. – Tories and Whigs", "Kossuth and Mazzini. – Intrigues of the Prussian Government. – The Austrian-Prussian Trade Agreement. – The **Times** and the Exiles". These headings are very much like the contents of a publication.

The heading only invited the reader to become acquainted with a publicistic work. It attracted the attention of the reader and urged him to read the material. As the great Russian pedagogue Konstantin Ushinski put it, "attention is the only door to our soul which provides access to all sensations and all images . . .".[26]

However, actual familiarisation with the text starts with the reading of the beginning.

The **beginning** of a publicistic work comprising several paragraphs introduces the reader to the text, it sets the tune to the introduction, so to say. The decision of the reader on whether to continue or discontinue the reading largely depends on how this part of the work is written.

Karl Marx was expert at writing beginnings. The beginnings of his publicistic works varied infinitely in types and all the more so in forms. Quite often the beginning of an article was directly linked with the heading and was a continuation of the latter. Having entitled the article "A New Year Greeting"

Marx commented on the heading in the beginning. He explained that he was writing about the New Year greeting not of a pastor, barber or night watchman, but of the King of Prussia who greeted his army. Marx then subjected the king's message to critical analysis revealing its essence and purpose.

Sometimes a publication would open with reference to earlier writings of the author. Thus the article entitled "Debates on the Law on Thefts of Wood" began with a statment reminding the reader about two earlier articles of Marx which were devoted to debates on the freedom of the press and to debates on the question of discord in the Church (the censors having banned the latter article). Such beginnings with reference to earlier works were, as a rule, used in materials making up a thematic serial. Marx took recourse to this method very frequently, when he wrote for the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung.** He would mention to the readers that his earlier predictions, assumptions and conclusions were valid. Thus, he started his article "Confessions of a Noble Soul" reminding the readers about the conclusions he had made in an earlier article "The Counter-revolution in Berlin". He wrote: "We predicted to the Right what would await them if the camarilla was victorious – a **tip** and **kicks.**

"We were mistaken. The struggle has not yet been decided, but they are already being given **kicks** by their chiefs, without receiving any tip."[27]

To make it easier for the reader to understand the material Marx included in the beginning an explanation of the reasons why he gave an introduction. He mentioned the event or the circumstances that had prompted him to write the material. For instance, in the beginning of the article "The Prussian Bill on the Press" Marx gave the following explanation:

"Charity begins at home. When the existence of the press is threatened, even Deputy Baumstark is abandoned.

"Herr Hansemann has submitted to the Agreement Assembly a provisional press law. The paternal solicitude of Herr Hansemann for the press calls for immediate consideration".[28]

The election of Bodelschwing, former minister of finance, to the Berlin National Assembly caused the publicist to write an article entitled "Prussian Finances Under Bodelschwing and Co.". He mentioned this in the beginning of the said article.

Most of the beginnings laid down the themes of Karl Marx's publicistic works. Sometimes the author would give a brief "abstract" of the work or the main conclusion drawn from the analysis. For instance, the article "The Economic Crisis in Europe" began precisely in this way: "A distinguishing feature of the current period of the speculation fever in Europe is its universal character".[29] The whole article concretised and proved this thesis conclusion of the author.

In the late 1850s-early 1860s the economic theme dominated Karl Marx's publicistic works. In these writings he would start with a discussion of the economic problems, formulating some of the theses of political economy. For example, he opened the article entitled "Commercial Crises and Money Circulation in Britain" with a statement of his view on the role the banks of issue played in the fluctuation of prices[30].

Quite often Karl Marx would resort to satire and irony in his beginnings. This would set a definite tune for the text. Thus, in the "Leading Article in No. 179 of the **Kölnische Zeitung**" the beginning was built on puns. Irony enabled the author to unmask the true face of the printed organ of the liberal bourgeoisie (in the Rhine Province) which went as far as to inform on its opponents[31]. His irony imbued not only the heading of the article "‚A Model State', Belgium", but also the beginning. He opened the article with a statement about Belgium being a monarchist Eldorado on the broadest possible democratic basis. He called Belgium a higher school for Berlin statesmen and the pride of the **Kölnische Zeitung**.[32] The "ladder" of ironical similes produced a comical effect. The lavish "praises" he sang to Belgium were in sharp contrast with the results of his analysis of the country's economic situation. Marx formulated his conclusion in the beginning of the article: Belgium's political

system was only a gilt frame for pauperism, poverty and misery.

Karl Marx's imagination knew no bounds in the choice of forms for beginnings. Adhering to one of his principles in writing publicistic works, namely to start with facts, he frequently quoted in the beginning of an article from the text of a political document, from materials published in newspapers, from speeches pronounced by a monarch or a public leader. This formed the factual basis of the beginning. It normally included also the author's comments on the document or other quotations. As we already know Marx started the article "Appeal of the Democratic Congress to the German People" with the text of the Appeal. He opened the article "Montesquieu LVI" with the text of an advertisement which had appeared in the **Kölnische Zeitung**. The beginning of the article "March League" was a letter to the editors of the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** from the leaders of that organisation of German petty bourgeois democrats.

In quite a few cases statistical data provided the basic facts for the beginning. Karl Marx began the article "Important British Documents" and several other contributions to the **New York Daily Tribune** by quoting statistical information published in the official materials of the British Board of Trade and in the reports of factory inspectors.

When Marx examined problems of international politics he would precede his discussions on them with an excursion into the history of the country (countries) or people (peoples) concerned. He would establish the economic and political factors which determined this history or histories. Thus, he started the article "War Against Persia" (which was devoted to the colonial war the British waged in the Middle East) with the statement: to understand the policital causes and aim of this war it is necessary to recall some events from the history of Persia. Marx then set forth the main facts of Persian medieval and modern history and commented on them.[33]

Karl Marx loved to start an article with a line or stanza

from a poem. Very often it would be a satirical poem, a remark from a character of Shakespeare's tragedy or comedy (Shakespeare was his favourite author). In other cases he would quote an expressive proverb, saying, or refer to an image from literature or fairy tales. Thus, he began his article on "The Situation in Prussia" with the following words: "You, of course, know the German proverb: ‚Wherever there is nothing, even the emperor loses his right . . .'"[34]

The beginning of an article on "The King of Prussia's Insanity" was a brief rendering of a fairy tale by the German novelist Wilhelm Hauff.[35]

The beginnings of Karl Marx's publications were really original. Depending on the theme of the article and its tasks the author each time chose an appropriate form for a beginning. He actively urged the reader to read more and more of the text. He thus initiated the reader in the questions he discussed in the given work. After that other factors which promoted the publicist's main idea started to operate. Among these was the logical division of the text into components.

By **division** the present author understands the splitting up of the text into interconnected parts and their arrangement for complete and adequate presentation of the publicist's thought and disclosure of the main idea of the work. In Karl Marx's publicistic works the text is so divided up as to ensure the most effective presentation of his thought. This division constituted an important aspect of the logical structure of the work. Just like any other publicist, Marx faced a di-une task of expedient division of the text and, at the same time, of combination and organic connection of its parts. As a rule, these parts corresponded to the stages reflecting the development of the author's idea and the stages of his analysis. Normally, the final part summed up the content of all the preceding parts and combined in one whole the results obtained.

Proceeding from this, let us look into the role of paragraphs in Karl Marx's publicistic works. Each of them is a complete whole setting forth a thought or thesis, proposition

which formed an essential element of the main idea usually given in several paragraphs. You will frequently see that Karl Marx's paragraphs are very long. Each of them forms a meaning-bearing part of the work.

Here are two examples quoted as illustrations. In March 1855, while the Crimean War was being fought, Karl Marx printed an article entitled "The British Constitution" in the **Neue Oder-Zeitung**, a democratic paper put out in Breslau. He printed another, extended, version of the same article in the **New York Daily Tribune** in the end of the same month. The author clearly stated the main idea of the article: in the context of the war and the economic crisis that was just setting in the British Constitution showed its complete bankruptcy. The crisis exposed the true countenance of British society, it tore the constitutional mask off its face. This was bound to aggravate the social conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Now let us see how Marx presented the idea by dividing up the text.

The article is subdivided into five parts. The first is a paragraph which forms the introduction. In it the author stated that the British Constitution had failed to stand the test of the war: "'It is the British Constitution that is under trial'. It has been tried and found guilty".[36]

The second part, i. e. the next paragraph posed the question about the essence of the constitution and gave a detailed answer to it. The author pointed out that the constitution was in actual fact an outdated compromise between the bourgeoisie which controlled, though unofficially, all the spheres of society and the officially ruling landed aristocracy.

The third part of the article–the long third paragraph – showed how this compromise, given legal form by the constitution, functioned in conditions that had taken shape as a result of the war. Marx drew the reader's attention to the fact that the aristocracy displayed its complete inability to administer the country any further. This was manifest in a succession of cabi-

nets that fell one after another. The political crisis had assumed the form of an uninterrupted process.

The fourth part consisting of the next three paragraphs made up practically the second half of the article. Karl Marx registered the emergence of a new, even more formidable, opponent of the constitution, namely the commercial and industrial crisis which was developing into a general crisis. He further carefully analysed the symptoms of the crisis – its first signs in other countries and in England, the attempts of the manufacturers to resolve the economic stagnation by sending their goods to foreign markets and the consequences of these steps. He analysed the final stage of the crisis–its chronic form having grown over into an acute form – and revealed the causes behind the bankruptcy of textile mills – the main branch of British industry at the time.

The final, fifth, part of the article is the ending. It is the culmination of the entire article. Here the publicist summed up the results of his analysis. He formulated the conclusion which crowned all of his deliberations. This ending was a summing up and at the same time a forecast. Karl Marx wrote that with the intensification of the crisis the working class would painfully feel its impact. When that happened, its activity would mount again. Therefore, its conflict with the bourgeoisie would sharpen. The constitutional mask that concealed the true features of the British political countenance would finally be torn off. The new economic crisis would lead to a renovation of the country's social system.[37]

Each of the five, and if we count the heading, each of the six parts of the article is organically linked with the next as a logical continuation of the author's main thought. The letter organises the whole of the material to combine it into an inseparable whole.

Karl Marx quite frequently resorted to more complicated division of his material. In particular, this was true of his thematic serials or cycles of articles under a common heading. Thus, "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-revolution", a master-

piece of publicistic creativity, was a four-article serial under the same heading. In it the publicist summed up the results of an important stage in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany, which ended up in a coup d'etat the counter-revolutionaries engineered in Prussia. They dispersed the National Assembly and introduced a new, reactionary, constitution. In these articles Marx gave an all-round analysis of the character of the actions and the role the bourgeoisie played in the revolution and outlined the prospects for the revolutionary movement.

The first article was an introduction to the entire serial. Just like each of the articles following it, it is subdivided into several parts. It also has an introduction and ending. In the introduction the author opposed the stand adopted by the proletariat, the revolutionary democrats and the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** which represented their interests to the stand of the Prussian government. The remaining part of the text was subdivided into two halves. In the first the author examined L. Camphausen, liberal banker of the Rhine Province who was placed at the head of the post-revolutionary bourgeois government of Prussia. Marx defined his part in the revolution as the author and advocate of the theory of "legality" and compromise with the monarchy. The publicist pointed out that under Camphausen and with his assistance, the counter-revolutionaries retook the decisive positions, trained an army that was ready to fight. Meanwhile the Berlin National Assembly was engaged in empty discussions.

A logical link connected the first half of the text with the second half. Marx wrote that Camphausen and "medium calibre men" like him "were mere mouthpieces of the class" that had brought them to the proscenium. They were representatives of the big bourgeoisie.[38]

The second half of the article analysed the place and role of the big bourgeoisie in Prussia prior to the March revolution. Marx revealed the material causes behind the bourgeoisie's quest for political power. He showed its aims and explained

why in pursuit of these aims it had to seek favours on the part of the people and to pose as their spokesman and as defender of their interests. The concise ending contains a conclusion: the liberal bourgeois opposition on the eve of the revolution was only a protest on the part of the bourgeoisie against the form of government which no longer corresponded to its interests and needs. "Obviously, the rights and liberties which the bourgeoisie sought **for itself** could be demanded from the Government only under the slogan: **popular rights** and **popular liberties.**[39] This was precisely how Marx began to set forth the main idea of the work, namely that the big German bourgeoisie was counter-revolutionary owing to its class position in society. The final sentence of the first article makes it easier for the reader to read the continuation.

The second article of the serial developed the idea of the first installment. This was facilitated by the division of the second article into three parts. The first disclosed the role of the bourgeoisie after the March revolution triumphed and the liberal bourgeoisie took over the helm of state power. In the second part the author compared the March revolution in Prussia with the revolution of 1648 in England and the French revolution of 1789. Already here he arrived at the conclusion that the March revolution was of a secondary, limited and provincial Prussian character. It was a historical anachronism.[40]

The third, final, part of the article was the ending. In it the author gave a detailed characteristic of the class make-up, the place and role of the big bourgeoisie in the revolution and after it. Marx's analysis laid bare the roots of the counter-revolutionary nature of the bourgeoisie, which was conditioned by its historical development. The German bourgeoisie developed in a sluggish, cowardly manner and at a slow pace. As a result, when it opposed feudalism and absolutism as a hostile force, it was already opposed in hostile fashion to the proletariat and the masses of people that supported it. That was why from the outset the bourgeoisie was ready to betray the people and to come to a compromise with the absolute monarchy. This bril-

liant analysis and characteristic fully unfolded the main idea of Marx's work.

The second article gave an outstanding publicistic description of the German bourgeoisie, presenting it as a cripple without eyes, ears or teeth. The bourgeoisie had not faith in itself or in the people. Nor did it understand its epoch-making part.[41] This was the culmination of the entire serial.

The articles that came after this one concretised and supplemented Marx's analysis. The third article expounded the following theme: the people and the bourgeoisie in the revolution.

The author exposed the essence of the bourgeois theory of compromise with the monarchy and disclosed the concept of "legal grounds". The leaders of the bourgeoisie urged the masses to adhere to "legal grounds". He analysed the policy of the Camphausen government which offered passive resistance to the revolutionary masses, while paving the way for the betrayal of the people. The ending of the article explained the reasons why Camphausen was forced to retire and why the Hansemann government took over power. This marked the beginning of a new stage in the policy of the bourgeoisie. It consisted in bringing the popular masses under the power of the bourgeoisie which had already entered into a compromise with the monarchy.

The fourth article analysed the policy of the Hansemann bourgeois government. Its purpose was to restore law and order, to establish conditions in which the bourgeoisie could exploit the workers and derive additional profits. The ending of the article and of the entire serial gave the main conclusion of the publicist. It read: "The history of the Prussian bourgeois class, like that of the German bourgeois class in general between March and December shows that a purely **bourgeois revolution** and the establishment of **bourgeois rule** in the form of a **constitutional monarchy** is impossible in Germany, and that only a feudal absolutist counter-revolution or a **social republican revolution** is possible".[42]

The validity of this conclusion was corroborated by the entire course of the revolution in Germany.

The clear, carefully thought-out, division of the whole serial and of every separate article made up the structural form of the author's thought, the final form of presentation of his main idea in this work.

The final element of the structure of a publicistic work is the **ending.** The artistry a publicist displays in putting the finishing touch on an article has always been an indicator of his skill. Karl Marx raised this to the level of art. We have already mentioned the endings of many of his works in the course of the present analysis. We shall now try to systematise and generalise the materials of the examination.

In most of the endings of his publicistic works Karl Marx summed up the results of his analysis presenting them in the form of a conclusion which, in some cases, was given in aphoristic form. In other cases he produced a preliminary conclusion which had been given in concise form in the beginning. In the ending he would expand the propositions of the said conclusion, concretise it and provide more detail. In still other cases he would "close the ring" by repeating in the ending what he had said in the beginning both in content and form.

For instance, he started a small article entitled "Latest News from Vienna, Berlin and Paris" by stating that "The Horizon is Lightening".[43] Having appraised in the ending the latest events in the Austrian, Prussian and French capitals, Marx repeated the same statement: "The Horizon is Lightening".[44] By doing so he drew the conclusion about the further polarisation of the political forces in Europe.

However, quite often Karl Marx would not be satisfied with giving a conclusion in the ending. He would connect with it his proposal or recommendation on the ways and means for the solution of the problem, or for revealing the political situation that had taken shape. For instance, in the ending of the article "Three New Bills" he formulated the conclusion on the role new government bills played in the accomplishment of the

plans hatched by the counter-revolution. In this ending he followed it up with a concrete proposal: if the National Assembly should agree to pass these bills the deputies from the Rhine Province should immediately resign from the Assembly.[45]

During crucial periods of the revolution such endings would assume the form of an imperative appeal. For instance, that was how Karl Marx ended his articles and notes which appeared in the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** in November 1848 when the conflict between the Berlin National Assembly and the King of Prussia broke out. Marx then wrote: **"From today, therefore, taxes are abolished!!! It is high treason to pay taxes. Refusal to pay taxes is the primary duty of the citizen".**[46]

One of the most typical endings of Karl Marx's publicistic works was the forecast. It was presented in the form of a cautious or categorical opinion of the author on the course of forthcoming events, on the tendencies of development of the working class movement. Such endings were typical of Karl Marx's writings of broad scope or writings which summed up the development of a definite period in social-political life. This was the type of ending Marx chose for his article "The British Constitution", for example. He ended the last article for the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung**[47] with a forecast, a prediction about a further inevitable revolutionary upsurge and triumph of the proletariat. Knowledge of the laws governing historical development, the conclusions he drew from the proletarian theory of political economy (he himself was developing) enabled Marx to make rather accurate forecasts on the lines and ways of development of concrete political events.

Karl Marx loved to end his production with satirical-ironical remarks, to dedicate them to concrete personalitites–bourgeois statesmen and public leaders. His article "Report of the Frankfurt Commission on Austrian Affairs" was an account on the trip of two commissioners of the Frankfurt National Assembly to Vienna. They were to act as mediators between the democrats who rebelled and the Austrian governmet. He concluded the article with an ironical appeal (which was an expres-

sion of contempt) to the envoys from Frankfurt who had played with distinguished skill the parts of "duped uncles" in a farce the reactionary Austrian ministers had produced with their help.[48]

Some of Karl Marx's endings were surprising to the reader because of their paradoxical character. Thus, in his article "Financial Swindles in England" Marx exposed the shady transactions of a Mr. Brown, director of a bank in England, showing the broad possibilities the British banking system offered for robbing the shareholders. He concluded it with a sarcastic ending: ",Everybody is a thief!' Timon (subject of Shakespeare's tragedy 'Timon of Athens') says. Mr. Brown says so too. In his heart he is, apparently, sure that every member of so-called respectable society says so as well. Only one thing is important, and that is not to be a petty thief".[49]

The last sentence unexpectedly disclosed in the form of a paradox the psychology of the "pillars" of British bourgeois society.

Generally speaking, the forms Karl Marx used in writing the endings of his publicistic works were just as infinite as the forms of his beginnings. He would end his articles using vivid figures of speech, similes in particular, questions, sayings, proverbs and quotations from scientific works. He ended the article "The New Field Service Charter" with an excerpt from Heinrich Heine's poem "Germany. A Winter Tale". He concluded "The Bill on the Abolition of Feudal Obligations" with a characteristic of the bill crowned with the saying: "The mountain has brought forth a mouse!"[50] Finally, he ended the "Debates on the Freedom of the Press . . ." with a quotation from Herodotus' "History".

In addition to the composition, the structure of the work, the style makes a major contribution to the impact a work produces on the reader. More than that, it would be fair to say that Karl Marx's publicistic works are characterised by unity of logical structure and his style, the two factors being interdependent and exercising a reciprocal influence.

3. "Marx's Style is Marx"

Karl Marx's style is a separate theme which calls for a special study. The present author shall deal here with the results of certain observations he has made while examining Marx's publicistic works.

Buffon's well-known words: "Style is man" are applicable to Marx, for, as Wilhelm Liebknecht put it, "Marx's style is Marx".[51] This is indeed so, for the personality of the scholar, scientists and publicist, the features of his character, psychological make up and temperament produced a most powerful imprint on the style of his works. As far as this goes, it would be difficult to cite another example like this one. Just like Engels Marx always attached great importance to the style of literary and publicistic works, both of his own, those of his supporters and those of his political opponents.

He maintained that the publicist's political stand was logically reflected in his style. Marx regarded indeterminateness, vagueness of style and ambiguity of expressions as a sign of lack of clarity and uncertainty of ideas a publicist tried to set forth. He even thought that this was indicative of his desire deliberately to confuse and misguide the reader. That was why he mercilessly taunted the journalists of the **Kölnische Zeitung** Brüggemann and Schwanbeck. He wrote that in the case of Brüggemann the style usually lost control over thought and in the case of Schwanbeck, on the contrary, thought lost control over style.[52] He would also ridicule the artificial and false inspiration, hollow phrasemongery of the appeal of the German democratic congress to the people to aid the revolutionary Vienna.[53] He venomously attacked the "pompous clumsy style" of the Berlin **National Zaitung** which slowly and heavily hobbled from one word to the next.[54] Making a thorough analysis of Palmerston's speeches, of Napoleon III's diplomatic notes and messages Marx disclosed how they used flowery, confusing and ambiguous sentences to conceal their true intentions and aims.

Karl Marx was exacting to his own style. He would edit and amend his articles and reports time and again to achieve maximum clarity of thought and precision of theses and wordings. Paul Lafargue recalled that Marx would never publish anything until he had thoroughly worked on the article and made repeated changes in the form. The very thought of presenting an incomplete work to the public was unbearable to him[55]. This above all applied to his scientific work. However, time permitting Marx worked in the same way on his publicistic productions.

M. Hess, German democrat, a contemporary of Karl Marx, was one of the first to admire the young thinker's universal abilities. He also expressed a very high opinion of Marx's powerful style. In a letter to Aleksandr Herzen he compared the latter's "Letters from France and Italy" and his own works giving accounts of political events in France from the revolution of 1830 to the uprising of the Paris workers in June 1848 with Marx's analysis of the same period on the basis of his "Class Struggle in France from 1848 to 1850". He acknowledged without reservation the superiority of Marx's method of description and analysis. "This undoubtedly the greatest genius of our party", Hess wrote with admiration, "uses an iron slate pencil" as a chisel to carve on bronze "indelible features". As compared to the works of Marx, Hess pointed out, all other writings appeared to be exercises in penmanship on vellum paper.[56]

Like many other friends and comrades-in-arms of Karl Marx Paul Lafargue and Wilhelm Liebknecht could not help expressing admiration of Marx's unique style. Even bourgeois biographers of Karl Marx cannot deny its outstanding merits. Thus, W. Schwerbrok called Marx a "dazzling master of style" who did not use a simile to decorate the text. In his case the simile was an ideal realised in perfect description.[57] Though Künzli cast aspersions on Marx, he could not help recognising his genius. A. Künzli wrote that Marx was a "volcanic author". The appearance of his article on the proceedings of the Rhine

Landtag on the freedom of the press already characterised him as a distinguished politico-philosophical publicist. Künzli further pointed out that even before that and after a writer equal to Marx[58] seldom appeared in the German-speaking region.

The present author will now attempt to characterise in brief the main distinguishing features of Marx's style in his publicistic works. They include clarity, figurativeness, use of aphorisms, emotions, passion, erudition, irony and dialectical character (this term is conditional, of course). These features sharply distinguished Marx's style from that of most of his contemporaries. Both his friends and followers, and also his enemies and opponents mentioned this. They all, of course, regarded these features in their own way, as merits or shortcomings, depending on their political class position.

Clarity is a most important distinguishing feature of Karl Marx's works. As publicist he never spared any effort to set forth his thoughts in a way that they could be understood by the reader. In addition, he always tried to find an optimal stylistic form for them. This task was not an easy one. The throes of creation in the search for the word, or rather in search for the precise word, the only irreplaceable word to express in full the concept were well known to Marx. Franz Mehring pointed out that Marx was already "struggling with the language"[59] in the letters he wrote in the days of his youth. He continued this struggle also in his mature years, when he was a great publicist. The effort put into the search for the right word found its expression in the "openness" and "laboratory character" of Marx's style, we mentioned above. The reader became a witness and ultimately a "co-participant" in the open process of the moulding and development of the author's idea, of the finding of the words that would clearly and accurately express it.

However, the clarity of Karl Marx's style does not mean that it is a simple style. It was neither simple nor light, particularly in the early period, when Marx had just started to work as a publicist. The style of Marx's works is rather complicated and even sophisticated. In his works you will frequently find long

and heavy periods. This is due to the complex and profound thoughts he had to express and the problems he dealt with in his works. Marx's articles compel the reader to comprehend them, to display an active attitude towards the contents. This feature of Marx's publicistic works is, beyond doubt, connected with their content. Style is not only man, style is also material. And it has to adapt itself to the object of research, as Wilhelm Liebknecht put it.[60] Indeed, the object reflected in Marx's publicistic works was so complicated that it was bound to affect the style.

It should be mentioned that with time, in later periods of his life, the style of Karl Marx's works, especially during revolutions when he appealed to the broad masses of people, became lighter, less complicated and sophisticated. Marx used to say: "We want the workers to understand us". This aphorism expressed the great publicist's desire and it largely determined the specifics of his style.

The clarity of the style of Karl Marx's works is often due to the use of **aphorisms**. August Cornu, French Marxist philosopher and biographer of Marx, grasped this. He took note of the publicist's partiality for epigrammatic formulae which enabled him to express in precise terms the thought he took a long time to produce.[61] An "epigrammatic formula" is a concise, laconic, aphoristic and powerful form of expression of an author's thought. For instance, ". . . the employer of the German worker, the German bourgeois, is himself a **slave of slaves**, and there is nothing worse, nothing more humiliating than to be a **slave of a slave**".[62] Or, ". . . A big talent without convictions produces scoundrels . . .".[63] Marx coined hundreds of other polished political aphorisms which were given life in his publicistic works and later they overstepped the bounds of a concrete work to live a life of their own.

Some of the articles Karl Marx wrote are a multitude of aphoristic formulae connected into periods with the help of which the publicist analysed social facts and events. Here are only a few of the aphoristic formulae from the article "Debates

on the Freedom of the Press: . . ." "But an end which requires unjust means is not a just end . . ."[64]; "A free press is the vigilant eye of the people's spirit, embodied confidence of the people in themselves, speaking bonds connecting an individual to the state and the whole world . . .".[65] "The cardinal freedom of the press is not to be a variety of freedom of trade."[66]; ". . . A **name** in the press has nothing to do with the matter . . .".[67]

Marx used an infinite number of aphorisms in his articles: "The Ban on the Leipziger **Allgemeine Zeitung**", "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel", and "The June Revolution". In the last work one sentence out of every two is a political aphorism.

It is indeed true that Karl Marx preferred to express his thoughts and ideas in publicistic works, especially when he summed up an analysis, in a pointed aphoristic form. The reasons for this were of a psychological character. One of these has been mentioned above – Karl Marx's peculiar way of thinking. He sought to express his ideas and thoughts in the best language form. The aphorism, sparkling and pithy, without superfluities, was in this sense an optimal form. Another reason was that Marx was aware of the role and potentialities of the aphorism in exercising an influence on the readers. Psychologists know that aphorisms, just like proverbs and sayings produce a powerful impact on people who remember them well. Thus, proverbs and sayings help mould stereotypes. No wonder the books of aphorisms are so popular. The readers regard them as treasuries of human wisdom. Marx made purposeful use of the aphoristic form for the expression of his thoughts. This is evidenced by the fact that with time he made more and more frequent use of aphorisms in the beginnings and endings – vital parts of a publicistic work. Marx opened his article "The Economic Situation" with the words:

"An Englishman is never more unhappy than when he does not know what to do with his money".[68] To produce a powerful impression on the reader he would resort to the same method in the endings:

"The first duty of the press now is to undermine all **the foundations of the existing political state of affairs.**"[69] "The **fist** is the ultimate argument of the Crown, the **fist** will be the ultimate argument of the people."[70]

Marx's multifaceted personality manifested itself in his complicated multicolour style. Wilhelm Liebknecht remarked that his all-embracing, many-sided nature could not produce a monotonous or tedious style which would be typical of a less complex and narrower nature. Marx was the creator of "Capital", Marx was the author of "The Eighteenth Brumaire . . ." and Marx was the originator of "Herr Vogt". Despite the difference between these three works, there is unity in this triplicity – the unity of a big personality which retained its identity of thought and which peculiarly manifested itself in a wide range of fields.[71] All of Karl Marx's works are united by key, unique features typical of the author himself.

Among these, as it has been pointed out above, are **emotion** and **passion**. A. Brisbayne, European correspondent of the **New York Daily Tribune,** wrote that "the passionate flame of brave soul"[72] gradually burned brighter and brighter. Marx never concealed from the reader his attitude towards the people and events he wrote about. He never tried to hide the emotions these people and events aroused in him. He sometimes controlled the force of expression of these emotions taking account of external circumstances, such as the need to comply with censorship regulations. But even the restrained tone of his articles in the **Rheinische Zeitung**, the irreproachable structure of his logical proof and legal arguments betrayed his indignation caused by the hypocrisy of the Prussian government and the wrath kindled by the defiance of law by the authorities. During revolutions Marx could afford to express his feelings without restraint in his publicistic works.

The moving solemnity of his chiselled lines honoured the memory of the fallen Paris Communards. It was alternated by the bubbling lava of invective hurled at crowned despots, court camarillas and reactionary warlords. Passionate calls to offer

armed resistance to the counter-revolution were followed by appraisals of bourgeois conciliators, written in a language of deadly contempt. At such times Marx preferred to refrain from sharp expressions and cutting words. Ironical similes and vivid hyperboles appeared in his articles with mockery of the "crowned idiot" – the Austrian emperor. He made the Prussian Generals Wrangel and Brandenburg objects of unsparing derision. He described them as fatheads and martinets "deprived of minds, hearts and views of their own".[74] The "greedy professorial scum" – the "learned asses" who kowtowed before the King of Prussia to assure him of their "inborn dogged devotion"[75] were subjected to annihilating condemnation.

However, already then Marx realised that passion in presentation of views did not always (far from it) produce the most powerful impression on the reader. He also saw that repetition of invective sapped its power. To achieve maximum effect the publicist should sometimes refrain from open demonstration of feeling. Irony, deadly ridicule and sarcasm often produced a far more powerful impact on the reader than a sharp formula. This did not make Marx's publicistic works less emotional or passionate. Only their form changed. His publicistic materials of the 1850s–1860s carried fewer sharp words and less ferocious invective. The facts he gave would not leave the reader indifferent. The works of this period contained restrained emotional comments and analyses. Marx's bigger theoretical-publicistic works, such as "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" and "The Civil War in France", expertly combined the open and "restrained" forms for the expression of the author's emotions. He thus secured the desired effect.

In Karl Marx's style emotion is inseparable from **figurativeness**. We have already shown how Marx used a figure of speech as an argument in his system of proof. However, the image, above all the verbal image (figure of speech) was also a vital element in the texture of his publicistic work. Through the use of images and figures of speech Marx imparted vividness, figurativeness and picturesqueness to his works. Figures of

speech helped Marx express his attitude towards an event or person. He, beyond doubt, preferred the simile to all other figures of speech. Franz Mehring wrote that as far as figurativeness was concerned, Marx could excel even such "masters of similes" as Lessing, Goethe and Hegel.[76]

Conditionally, Marx's similes can be subdivided into two groups. The first, smaller, group includes the similes he borrowed from literary, publicistic works produced by other authors and those he knew from mythology. The second, larger, group comprises similes formed by Marx's creative imagination. They were above all original. They would surprise the reader by unexpected comparison, by seemingly diverse elements. But the publicist would find facets which would "fit together" to reveal the phenomenon he studied from a new angle. Marx's similes are apt and expressive. They immediately produce an image, a picture in the reader's mind, which helps him grasp the pith and meaning of the phenomenon Marx was describing. Here are a few examples: the people who, like cattle, have again been driven "into the stalls of the ‚Christian German' state".[77] Britain, citadel of European reaction – a cliff "the waves of revolution" smash against.[78] "The Prussian March revolution of 1848 is a remote star whose light shall reach the inhabitants of the Earth 100,000 years after it becomes extinct."[79]

Sometimes Marx would turn a simile into a full-scale act played by political leaders. To give the reader an idea about the political platform of the liberal-bourgeois **Kölnische Zeitung** and its writers who urged the people to adhere to "legal grounds" Marx wrote: "Brüggemann and in his person the **Kölnische Zeitung** drivelled, invented and complained so much about 'legal grounds', lost and recovered, destroyed and mended these 'legal grounds' so much, shifted them from Berlin to Frankfurt and from Frankfurt to Berlin, narrowed and extended them, turned them from regular grounds into a parquet floor, and from a parquet floor into a double bottom (as is known, this is the main instrument of a farcical juggler), and

from a double bottom into a bottomless trap, that, in the eyes of our readers, the legal grounds have been turned into the grounds of the **Kölnische Zeitung** . . .".[80]

Many of Karl Marx's similes were based on folklore, folk proverbs and sayings. Thus, the great publicist used to say that Palmerston would betray other peoples with a "show of good manners". However, Marx would never forget to mention that "good manners were the devil's change with which he paid for the blood of the simpletons he deceived."[81] Here the simile was based on folklore from which it was borrowed.

In some of Karl Marx's works the simile was rather elaborate. To see what the author meant the reader had to know certain spheres of life. Thus, once the publicist compared the revolution to a bill the people presented to the bourgeoisie for payment. Marx further explained that the term of payment would expire the day the bourgeoisie assumed power. The bourgeoisie would protest the bill, i. e. refuse to satisfy the people's lawful demands.[82] Karl Marx's publicistic works abound in similes such as this, i. e. similes based on concepts and terms from the sphere of economy and finance. This was the result of his studies in political economy.

An unexpected, bright, image-bearing simile would bring home the publicist's thought to the reader by a shortcut. It would help the reader grasp the essence of the author's message. The image and simile were the "muscle-forming" elements of Karl Marx's style. He expressed a high opinion of the "powerful muscular style" of Proudhon's book "What is Property?".[83] But the "muscles" of Marx's style were far stronger than those of Proudhon's.

Karl Marx's vast wealth of knowledge in all social sciences produced an indelible imprint on his style. In his relatively small work "Debates on the Freedom of the Press" there are, in addition to numerous similes, close to 60 quotations, references to a long list of works. Marx quoted from Herodotus, Thucydides, the Bible, Goethe, Voltaire. He included lines from the poems of Schiller and Beranger, Uhland and the medieval Ar-

ab poet Hariri. He would weave into the text a dozen and a half Latin proverbs and catchwords and several French phrases. You will find the images of Apollo, Athena, Zeus and other ancient Greek gods, Sabala and Ganuman from the Hindu pantheon. He mentioned Heracleitos, Confucius, Pythagoras, Galileo, Mirabeau, Kant, Fichte, Luther, Lessing and Machiavelli. In addition, to the above he referred to the names of 30 other scientists, scholars, writers and poets, statesmen, public leaders, kings and revolutionaries. This was a dazzling display of knowledge and mental potentialities by a young erudite publicist. Karl Marx's other publicistic materials are of the same character. It should be pointed out that he made use of his erudition, only if he needed to achieve a definite purpose. With time, as Marx accumulated and extended his knowledge, he tended to use similes, quotations and references less generously than before. He would select only the most sparkling, the most necessary ones to his article or lampoon. Without them his productions would stand to lose in terms of value of analysis, arguments and in forms of expression of his ideas and thoughts. A comparison of his later publicistic works, such as "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-revolution" and "Lord Palmerston", with his earlier works bears out these findings. In the lampoon "Lord Palmerston" he made reference to characters from Shakespeare, Goethe, Cervantes and Mozart, he quoted from the books written by the Englishman MacNeil and by the German Kupfer, cited Latin and French sayings, mentioned Carlyle, Pindar, Sophocles and Pericles. But this accounts for a fraction of the brilliant constellation of names appearing in his earlier works. However, in keeping with the character of the lampoon Marx included in it numerous quotations from contemporary and earlier documents, such as international treaties, letters by diplomats and officers, from English, French and Russian papers. The publicist retrieved from the vast reserves of knowledge only those pieces of information which he needed for the given purpose, namely for the exposure of Palmerston. Nothing more than for that.

It should also be noted that the **erudition** of Marx's style depended on the readers he wrote for. In the early 1840s his audience was mainly made up of liberal bourgeois, revolutionary democratic and petty bourgeois intellectuals, including Young Hegelians, i. e. people with a gymnasium or, in many cases, a university education. This was not a mass audience yet. The circulation of the **Rheinische Zeitung** did not exceed 3,400. The character of the paper's reading public definitely affected the style of Marx's productions of that period. They were packed with literary and mythological images and similes, examples from history, particularly ancient history, and Latinisms. Marx's writings have many Gallicisms – separate words and sometimes whole sentences given in the French language. The **Rheinische Zeitung** was intended for circulation in the Rhine Province which was under a strong influence of French culture. There, one out of every two inhabitants could read, write and speak French. In the late 1840s the style of Marx's publicistic works was already different.

The **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** had a mass audience. Each of its 6,000 copies was passed on from one reader to another. The paper was distributed all over Germany and even outside it. It was read not only by petty bourgeois democrats, but also, and above all, by workers, soldiers and peasants. It was necessary to write for them in a different way. Marx's articles of that period contained fewer examples from history, fewer images from mythology and fewer Latin idioms and expressions. The author used legal terms, for instance, only when they were strictly necessary, and then, in most cases, they were translated into the German and explained in materials on cases of law-breaking by the Prussian authorities. At the same time there were more figures of speech in his publicistic works, and the similes were more expressive. When Marx wrote specially for workers his style was particularly lucid and simple. In his "Wage Labour and Capital" serial he mentioned Alexander the Great (of Macedonia) only once. There were no other references to scientists, scholars, kings or statesmen. Nor were there

any quotations from scientific works, images or characters from literature or mythology. But Marx introduced many economic concepts and terms and explained each of them.

In the 1850s–1860s Marx wrote for a changed public again. It was mainly made up of the readers of the **New York Daily Tribune** in the United States of America, British workers who read Chartist publications, German and Austrian liberals who subscribed to the **Neue Oder-Zeitung** and **Die Presse**, a paper published in Austria. And, naturally, his style changed too. If he made reference to examples, he would take them mostly from English history. He willingly quoted the British press, English writers and publicists both of the contemporary period and the past.

In most cases, his publicistic images and similes were based on Shakespearean characters. He relied more on documents, he would quote from scientific works, parliamentary and statistical reports. He would introduce economic and scientific-theoretical terms. This was due to the fact that at the time Marx was engaged in research. The use of Latin and French words, idioms and expressions became less frequent.

Another outstanding feature of Karl Marx's publicistic works was **irony.** Marx's contemporaries admired his ability to lay bare social defects with the help of irony and sarcasm. In a letter to his friend in 1841 M. Hess expressed his admiration for Marx in the following terms:

"He combines profound philosophical seriousness with sparkling wit. Just imagine Rousseau, Voltaire, Holbach, Lessing, Heine and Hegel combined all in one. I mean combined and not mechanically mixed. This will give you an idea of Dr. Marx".[84]

Still another feature of Karl Marx's publicistic work is **dialectical character** (this is the conditional term we invented for it). It is of extreme interest. This feature is manifest above all in the peculiar form Marx used to set forth his main idea. The author would alternate the words, putting them in different order in the sentence expressing his thought, idea, in the form of

a thesis. He would, so to say, turn the sentence "inside out".[85] He thus produced an antithesis – a new sentence with a different, or even opposite, meaning, i. e. opposite to the thesis he had formulated. For instance, this is how Marx characterised the German bourgeoisie in "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-revolution":

"... It did not represent the interests of the new society against an old one, but renewed interests within an obsolete society. It stood at the helm of the revolution not because it had the people behind it but because the people drove it before them; it stood at the head not because it represented the initiative of the new social era, but only because it represented the rancour of the old one ... Revolutionary in relation to the conservatives and conservative in relation to the revolutionaries ... It was vulgar because unoriginal and original in its vulgarity."[86]

The thesis-antithesis feature was typical of the style of Karl Marx's early works. It became a feature of all of his publicistic works. It is characteristic of his headings. For instance, "The Poverty of Philosophy. Reply to M. Proudhon's 'Philosophy of Poverty'" was the heading of a polemical work spearheaded against J. P. Proudhon, ideologue of the petty burgeoisie. The change of places in words in the title of a book by the French sociologist enabled Marx to express exactly, and in a witty form, his attitude to Proudhon's views. The article against K. Heinzen, German petty bourgeois democrat, bears the title "Moralising Criticism and Critical Morality". Two attributes formed through a change in the places of words precisely and ironically characterised the essence of Heinzen's attack on the communists.

The thesis-antithesis feature of style is more typical of Karl Marx's publicistic work. "The **censorship of tendency** and the **tendency of censorship** ..."[87] Here the publicist clearly defined the purpose of the new instructions the Prussian government issued on censorship in 1841.

Giving thought to the role of theory in the development of the revolutionary movement of the popular masses Karl Marx

wrote: "The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapons . . ."[88]. Characterising the "grobian literature" in Germany in the 16th century Marx noted: ". . . A loutish form of indignation, a form of indignant loutishness".[89]

Such formulae are not a mere play of words. Despite their outwardly paradoxical character they are extremely meaningful. They conveyed the publicist's desire and ability to see the internal interconnection between words and the concepts they expressed. This was not merely one of the many stylistic methods Marx used in constructing sentences. The thesis-antithesis feature of style was possible, only if the publicist was an adherent of dialectics and understood the internal interconnections between facts and phenomena and the concepts they expressed. The thesis-antithesis element enriched the style, it offered the author additional possibilites for the development of his idea and for display of new aspects of the phenomenon, aspects unknown to the reader.

The dialectical character of style manifested itself in the use of **numerous attributes** to define a phenomenon or concrete personality. In revealing the stand and views of a statesman or public leader and in disclosing the essence of a social phenomenon the publicist did not limit himself to a narrow, one-sided characteristic. He would use a **series of attributes, epithets** in fact. They would be inseparably linked together to present all the sides and aspects of a phenomenon or the character of a concrete personality. Marx would show to the reader the numerous ties that connected the phenomenon or personality with the environment. Let us recall the characteristic of the German bourgeoisie Marx gave in "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-revolution"[90] we have referred to several times in the present work. The removal of a single attribute from the series would make the characteristic incomplete.

Karl Marx showed that he was a competent psychologist who uderstood and took account of the factors which determined the way the readers comprehended a publicistic work. Marx realised the role of psychological inertia in the process of

thinking, of the psychological set and stereotype the reader had developed before he started to read his work. Taking into account the specifics of the reader's psychology Marx used a whole range of stylistic methods in his publicistic works. These methods helped him bring home to the reader the essence and meaning of the problems under discussion and make the production more popular. For instance, Marx loved to make use of the **rhetorical question**. Implying that there is only one answer to that rhetorical question there was no need to write it out in the text. This enabled the author to draw the reader's attention to a given aspect of the existing situation and lead him to the right answer.

Thus, the author's purpose was achieved through the **question-answer form of narration** Marx used in his publicistic works. He was, therefore, able to clarify, to an adequate degree, his attitude to an event or person. Sometimes, he would pose a series of questions positively requiring the same answer. This produced an even more powerful impact on the reader. For instance, in the article "Triumph of the Counter-revolution in Vienna" he explained the causes of the defeat of the revolutionary workers. Among these Marx mentioned the betrayal of the workers by the bourgeoisie. He asked the question: Who was represented in the Reichstag and the council? And he gave the answer: "The bourgeoisie".[91] This question was followed by a whole series: Who maintained the national guard units that sided with the court camarilla from the beginning of the revolution in Vienna? Who was it that fled from Vienna leaving the people to guard their wealth? Who was it that after this watched the destruction of the people? Whom does the National Assembly and its 'Central Authority' that betrayed Vienna represent? Who triumphed in Paris in June to pave the way for the triumph of the counter-revolution in Vienna?

Each time the answer, and it was always the same, came down like a sledgehammer on the anvil: the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie ... That was how Marx would lead the reader to the right conclusion: wherever the revolu-

tionary people suffered defeat, the reason behind it was the betrayal of the bourgeoisie.

In general **stylistic repetition** played a special role in Marx's publicistic works. Marx deliberately used repetition as an instrument which would influence the reader's psychology. Stylistic repetition helped the reader clearly see the question under discussion from many angles. In addition, it also helped change the reader's psychological set, develop a new psychological stereotype and mould a different attitude to events and personalities.

Karl Marx resorted to stylistic repetition in a wide range of forms. One of these was to begin paragraphs, sentences or parts of sentences with the **same word or phrase.** As a rule, this word or phrase would convey the author's main message. This same beginning may have the form of a question. Thus, in the article "The New Martial Law Charter" Marx opened five paragraphs with the word: "Should . . .", "Should we mention? . . .", "Should we speak? . . .", "Should we, finally, deal with? . . ." etc.[92]

In most cases the identical beginning was given in the affirmative. In particular, 21 paragraphs in the "The Deeds of the Hohenzollern Dynasty" began with the words: "Everybody knows how". The author then went on to describe the "deeds" performed by the members of this Prussian royal house: their acts of treason, treachery, plunder and disgraceful defeats.

Quite frequently an oft-repeated beginning may be based on the name of a person. Thus, practically every paragraph in Camphausen, a relatively short lampoon, starts with the name of this Prussian minister: "Herr Camphausen . . ." Then the author reminded the reader of what the minister did or undertook to do as head of government.[93] By repetition Marx managed to persuade the reader that the minister had played the role of traitor to save the Prussian crown and to sidetrack the revolution onto what he called "legal grounds."

Karl Marx used the **refrain**, as a keynote, as a peculiar form of stylistic repetition. This was typical of him. The refrain

was an aphoristic form for the expression of his main idea. For instance, the refrain of the article "The Hohenzollern Bill on the Press" is: **"Freedom of the press, publicity of trial and gallows!".** This refrain is in brief the pith of the reactionary bill[94]. The refrain of the fourth article (installment) of "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-revolution" serial was a statement of Hansemann: "Gentlemen, there is no room for sentiment in money affairs!" In an aphoristic form this statement expressed the essence of the self-interest of this bourgeois minister and his actions[95].

In Karl Marx's publicistic works stylistic repetition also formed the basis for so-called **synonymic series**. Marx made rather frequent use of synonymic series. It was made up of a "row" of synonymous attributes characterising some concrete personality. They, so to say, instilled in the reader's mind the author's attitude to the person in question.[96]

To make it easier for the reader to grasp his thoughts Karl Marx sometimes took recourse of **personification of concepts**. Thus, in his article "Debates on the Law on Thefts of Wood" he wrote that "the fear of self-interest", like a man, tracked, calculated and thought matters over.[97] They would try to make a deal with "the law," would lull it to sleep, would even pat it on the shoulder and whisper into its ear. Marx further wrote that to secure their authority over the offenders of forest regulations the Landtag not only broke the "law's arms and legs, but even pierced its heart.[98]

In his publicistic works Karl Marx used **puns**, he would play on the names of the personalities he wrote about and also the names of hostile printed publications. If necessary, he formed new words and word combinations packed with topical political content. The **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** introduced many neologisms – adjectives and verbs produced on the basis of names of well-known Prussian reactionaries. In November 1848 General Wrangel's troops dispersed the Berlin National Assembly. Reporting on this action the paper referred to the National Assembly as having been "wrangelised". Reports on

the suppression by the army of revolutionary action undertaken by the popular masses used the word "Windischgrätzise". It was formed on the basis of Field Marshal Windischgrätz, Austrian army, which drowned in blood the uprising in Vienna. Reporting on the new reactionary electoral law which governed the elections to the second chamber of the Prussian Landtag the paper described it as having been "manteuffelised." This word had been formed from the name of the Prussian minister of the interior Manteuffel.

Many of the **paradoxes** which were so typical of Marx's publicistic works were based on puns. He wrote:

"To make freedom of the press a variety of freedom of trade is a defence that kills it before defending it."[99] "The **civic militia is disbanded** that is the **chief paragraph** of the Bill on the establishment of a civic militia."[100]. "But the defeat of the French workers in June was the defeat of the June victors themselves."[101]

Research has shown that the style of Karl Marx's publicistic works is just as uniform in its diversity that is typical of their contents and themes. The variety of stylistic methods, features and peculiarities, the entire system of stylistic means in Marx's works served one purpose only, namely to achieve the most effective expression of his ideas.

Chapter VI

Destruction for construction

1. Art of Militant Polemics

Polemics is highly typical of Karl Marx's publicistic works. In his case polemics was not only and not so much a form the author resorted to to express his thoughts, but rather a form for the expression of their essence, line and character. The polemical character of Karl Marx's publicistic works stemmed from the opposition his opponents put up to his activities, his productions and the ideas he promoted. V. I. Lenin wrote:

"No wonder, therefore, that the Marxist doctrine which directly serves to enlighten and organise the advanced class in modern society, indicates the tasks facing this class and demonstrates the inevitable replacement (by virtue of economic development) of the present system by a new order – no wonder that this doctrine has had to fight for every step forward in the course of its life."[1]

As a publicist Karl Marx was always faced with formidable tasks. Fighting the opponents of Marxism and the enemies of the proletariat was a task of primary importance. Another equally important task was to defend against harassing proletarians, revolutionary fighters and participants in the working class movement. Then Marx sought to ensure unity of thought and action among the participants in the revolutionary struggle. This unity was a precondition for the success of the struggle. Marx worked to promote class enlightenment, education and organisation of the proletariat. And, naturally, propaganda of Marxism, in particular through publicistic works, was playing an increasing role in pursuit of this task.

These tasks were accomplished through uninterrupted

fierce polemics both by word of mouth and in the press. No wonder, in deliberating on the tasks of the party press Friedrich Engels pointed out that it was above all necessary to engage in discussions, to substantiate, develop and defend the party's requirements (whose views the given paper or periodical expressed), to reject and refute the claims and assertions of the hostile party[2].

Polemics was also a form of criticism Karl Marx used in his publicistic works. He could not conceive of the proletarian press or communist publicists doing without polemics. He positively stated: "Polemics is essential for every paper, if it is to wage a struggle".[3]

No progressive development of society was possible without criticism. To make criticism successful it had to be unsparing. Way back in 1843 Marx wrote:

"I am referring to **ruthless criticism of all that exists**, ruthless both in the sense of not being afraid of the results it arrives at and in the sense of being just as little afraid of conflict with the powers that be."[4]

The polemics Karl Marx carried on with his ideological opponents, enemies of the proletariat, was distinguished for its unsparing, uncompromising, principled and acute character. All of his scientific, theoretical and public works were polemical. In his works Marx refuted age-old, traditional ideas of the world, society and man's role in it. It was polemics on the foundations which formed the basis for the life of society, its forms – state, legal and ethical. The polemics conducted in his publicistic works acquired a particularly acute character. The reason for this was that it dealt with concrete situations, living personalities, real life, practical social contradictions, class conflicts and political struggles. Criticism in the form of polemics, i. e. **polemical criticism**, was the keynote of Karl Marx's publicistic works.

What were the objects of this criticism? What was it that Marx criticised so trenchantly in the press? Above all the out-

dated feudal institutes, namely absolute monarchy, the classes and social groups supporting it – the gentry, bureaucracy and the military. Marx wrote that it was a primary duty of the press to undermine the foundations of the existing political system.[5] He proceeded from the fact that it resisted all, even the smallest progressive changes, the establishment of democratic freedoms which were essential for the consolidation and organisation of the proletariat. The publicist's criticism was spearheaded against the class opposite to the proletariat – the bourgeoisie that exploited the proletariat and which opposed all of the latter's attempts to uphold its rights. Marx's criticism struck at the proletariat's petty bourgeois allies. As vacillating cowardly elements they would betray the proletariat at the crucial moment. Marx also criticised petty bourgeois ideologists – so-called true socialists, Proudhonites, Lassalleites, Bakuninites and others who tried to sidetrack the workers from the correct line of struggle for the triumph of the proletarian revolution, who tried to split up and weaken the proletarian movement.

Of course, the character of Karl Marx's polemical criticism depended on the object. Criticising absolute monarchy and the big bourgeoisie, its ally – mortal enemies of the revolution and the proletariat – was one thing. And criticising petty bourgeois democrats, allies (however irresolute) of the proletariat in the struggle against feudal institutes was another. Naturally, the tone of the criticism and the degree of its acuteness were different.

Karl Marx's polemical criticism was of problem character. In the course of the polemics he attacked the ideological and theoretical foundations of his ideological opponents. He invariably focussed the attention on problems bearing on the existing unjust social, political and state system and its transformation. The Prussian authorities sensed this immediately. They saw that already in his early articles young Marx was attacking the foundations of the Prussian monarchy.

Karl Marx's polemical articles were of varied scope. He was endowed with a rare gift – the ability to expose whole

classes and social groups and, at the same time, to criticise concrete personalities who expressed and championed the interests of these classes and groups. Marx wrote that it was not enough to fight in general against the existing relations and top authorities. He pointed out:

"The press must decide to enter the lists against a **specific** police officer, a **specific** Public Prosecutor, a **specific Landrat**".[6]

Though he polemised with Heinzen and Vogt as concrete individuals, he exposed them as spokesmen of definite social groups and trends.

Karl Marx's polemics in his publicistic works was distinguished for its open, truthful and logical character. Marx took full advantage of public statements in the press. He openly and completely expressed his views on an event, concrete personality or party and their actions. Even though he would bump into barriers put up by censorship, he found ways to set forth his opinions and views, refute the assertions of his opponents and prove the validity of his conclusions. Marx never considered it necessary to conceal or embellish his appraisal of an event or personality. He preferred an open fight in polemics. As Friedrich Engels put it, Marx would drag his opponents out into the sun to lead an attack on them in front of the public[7].

Truthfulness largely accounted for the success of Karl Marx's polemical articles. Frankly seeking to establish the truth he would proceed from a scientific theory in explaining the causes, essence, character, aims and positions of political parties, the actions of state bodies. He would reveal the undercurrent economic processes determining the course of political events, the true role of individual persons in the shaping and resolving of concrete political situations. Marx's frank effort to get to the truth produced an irresistible impression on the readers. In polemics Marx turned the global truth of life and the concrete truth of fact into reliable weapon, one which was just as effective as logic. In the course of polemics Marx's logical deliberations forced his opponents into retreat. At the same

time they convinced the readers. To refute the arguments of the opponent and logically to prove their unsoundness meant to persuade the readers that his own propositions and conclusions were correct.

What polemical methods did Karl Marx use in his publicistic works? One of these was to "offer the floor" to the opponent to conduct a logical analysis of his statements, to show and prove that they were unsound and fallacious. The great publicist liked to fight the opponent with the opponent's own weapon. To this end he made wide use of quotations from the speeches and statements of monarchs, ministers, members of national assemblies and parliaments, from the texts of government decisions, instructions and orders of military and police authorities, from articles appearing in bourgeois and monarchist papers. Having given an excerpt from his opponent's statement or a document he had drafted, Marx would subject it to a detailed analysis. This analysis would lay bare the falseness of the facts and assertions used in the opponent's text, expose the false and unsound interpretation thereof, and disclose the causes and aims of such actions. Marx would oppose doubtful facts and false interpretation of actual facts with true, incontrovertible facts and accompany them with a sound, scientific explanation.

Another effective instrument in polemics was his own comments. Marx's comments would bare the essence of his opponent's statement, show up his true aims and reveal the untenable character of his arguments. As a rule, these comments immediately followed the quotation. Quite often Marx would take course to what is known as internal comments. He would introduce quotations into the text of these comments to break up the course of the opponent's deliberations. Thus, commenting on Palmerston's deliberations about the need to emancipate the Catholics in order to abolish the poverty of the popular masses in Ireland, Marx proved that all this was mere twaddle. He dismissed it with deadly irony:

"The great philanthropist, who afterwards cleared his Irish

estates of their Irish natives, could not allow Irish misery to darken, even for a moment, with its inauspicious clouds, the bright sky of the landlords and moneylords".[8]

He further confirmed his thought with a quotation from the minister's address to Parliament.

"'It is true,' he said, 'that the peasantry of Ireland do not enjoy all the comforts which are enjoyed by the peasantry of England' (only think of all the comforts enjoyed by a family at the rate of 7s a week). Still he continues, 'Still however, the Irish peasant has his comforts . . . He is well supplied with fuel, and is seldom' (only four days out of six) 'at a loss for food.'"[9]

Marx's comments in parentheses nullify the minister's verbiage about the happy life of Irish peasants.

The polemics Karl Marx engaged in was at the same time both coarse and **subtle**[10]. He openly, wrathfully and indignantly caught the Prussian judiciary lying. He convicted the liberal bourgeoisie and their printed organs of cowardice, betrayal, distortion and concealment of facts. Making expert use of methods of economic analysis Marx unmasked the crafty attempts of the British colonialists to prove that the popular masses of India did not feel the burden of taxes imposed on them by foreign invaders. Quoting incontrovertible facts the publicist proved Stieber and other Prussian police spies guilty of perjury, forgery, and falsification of documents submitted to the court in Cologne which tried the members of the League of Communists in 1852 ("Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne"). He exposed the impermissible methods the journalists of the **Kölnische Zeitung** and his other opponents[11] took recourse to in quoting. Marx condemned the British bourgeois press for attempts to conceal from the public cases of cruel treatment of Indians and Chinese by British soldiers. He exposed the British press for misrepresentation of facts with respect to the convocation of the Labour Parliament in Manchester. Marx showed how the bourgeois press organised a conspiracy of silence against people who displeased it – public leaders, scientists, etc. Commenting on the way the bourgeois press

covered the colonialist policies of the British government Marx wrote:

"The real bearing of the case may be judged not from what has been printed, but from what has been usefully suppressed by the . . . organs".[12]

It has been pointed out above that an effective method of Marx's polemics was to prove that the opponent's assertions were illogical and unsound and, at the same time, to prove with compelling logic that his own views and conclusions were absolutely true. That he was an expert in logic Marx demonstrated already in his first publicistic work "Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction." Commenting on Marx's debut the German historian G. Mende wrote:

"Although he did not read a course of logic at Bonn University, he did not abandon it. And now the Prussian government had to attend a public lecture on logic."[13]

Indeed, in this work the publicist applied the laws of formal logic, when he analysed the new censorship instructions the Prussian government introduced in December 1841. This meant that he applied these laws to the discussion of questions bearing on political practices. Step by step he logically proved that every clause of the instructions was contradictory. His final conclusion was that the new instructions had left the existing state of affairs in press-censorship relations unchanged. This offered broad opportunities for lawless actions. The logical proof was irreproachable. Marx actually unmasked the hypocritical character of the new instructions. The phrasemongery about relaxing censorship restrictions actually concealed measures being taken to toughen them.

F. Muminov, a researcher from Tashkent, has drawn attention to the fact that Karl Marx's argumentation in his polemical works was built above all on baring the illogical character of the statements and proof advanced by his political opponents. Let us quote only one example to illustrate our point. Let us examine the "Critical Marginal Notes on the Article 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform'. By a Prussian". In it

Marx contested the views of A. Ruge on the causes and prospects for the development of the working class movement in Germany. Disputing the assertions of his opponent Marx showed that he was ignorant of the situation in the country, that he failed to understand the developments in it. But what was particularly important was that the publicist proved that A. Ruge's statements and conclusions were illogical, contradictory and meaningless. Marx caught Ruge making a wrong comparison between the conditions of the German workers, on the one hand, and those of the French and British workers. Instead of comparing the initial forms typical of the development of the working class movement in the three countries A. Ruge gave a few general maxims and wrote a few banalities. The publicist, for his part, produced a brilliant characteristic of the German working class movement, which was wholly based on facts. He combined a logical analysis of A. Ruge's article with an analysis of its style. He argued that the contradictions and absurdities of style stemmed from lack of logic in A. Ruge's thinking. Marx ridiculed A. Ruge's meaningless phrase "social revolution with a political soul". Marx taught him a lesson of logic: "‚**Social**' revolution with a **political** soul is either a meaningless collection of words, if the ‚Prussian' understands by ‚social' revolution a ‚social' revolution **as opposed** to a political revolution, and nevertheless he endows the social revolution with a political soul, instead of a social one; or, perhaps **‚Social revolution with a political soul'** is a paraphrase of what used to be called a **‚political revolution'**, or **‚simply a revolution**'. Every revolution destroys **old society**, and is therefore a **social** revolution. Every revolution overthrows **old power** (old authority), and therefore it is of **political** character.

"Let the ‚Prussian' choose between a **paraphrase** and **nonsense**! However, if a **social revolution with a political soul** is either a paraphrase or nonsense, a **political revolution with a social soul** makes sense". And Marx concluded his analysis as follows: "How much detailed argument has been necessary to tear to pieces the **tissue** of errors concealed on a single newspa-

per column. Not all readers can have the education and time to get to the bottom of such **literary** charlatanism."[14]

The polemical character of Karl Marx's publicistic works was a manifestation of its offensive spirit. The great publicist did not wait for the enemy to attack him. He preferred to attack the enemy first, as soon as the latter gave him an excuse to do so. If he had to reply to an attack of a hostile paper or a reactionary politician, Marx, as Friedrich Engels wrote later, would "strike back a blow for every blow, two, three blows for every blow by the enemy".[15] That was precisely why he inspired fear and aroused rage on the part of the reactionaries. He himself was subjected to the most rabid and sordid attacks. The enemies of the revolutionary proletariat soon earmarked Marx as their deadliest foe.

And now a few words about the flexibility of Karl Marx as a polemicist and his ability to change from one weapon to another. Marx would construct his statement and would take recourse to one method or another, to one weapon of polemics or another depending on the task he set himself, the concrete situation, on the object of his criticism and character of his opponent – i. e. his social status, knowledge and the arguments the latter used. In articles intended to expose the false assertions of the reactionary authorities whose spokesmen were guilty of law-breaking Marx would bring forth legal arguments. In materials on economic themes the author would quote statistical data.

Karl Marx's arsenal of polemical weapons, naturally, included satire. This was in full accord with his views on the role satire played in the life of society. This was also in keeping with his personality and creative abilities. Way back in 1844, in the "Introduction" to "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" he pointed out that satire played an important role in historical development. Marx wrote that in the course of its development history passed through two phases, namely the tragic and the comic phases. He pointed out:

"The gods of Greece, already tragically wounded to death in Aeschylus' **Prometheus Bound**, had to re-die a comic death in Lucian's **Dialogues**. Why this course of history? So that humanity should part with its past cheerfully."[16]

To equip the proletariat (which was growing stronger and stronger) for its reckoning with the old, departing world the founders of Marxism sought to use satire. No wonder, in several of his publicistic works Marx expounded the idea about the irony of history, the humour of history. He showed that history displayed an ironical and humorous attitude to the old, moribund classes and their spokesmen in the political arena.

The satirical hue is typical of all of Karl Marx's publicistic works. But satire is particularly characteristic of his polemics with his ideological opponents. Marx concentrated not merely on refuting his opponent, but on destroying him. Social institutes and their spokesmen were an object of his satirical attacks. These, he wrote, "in themselves they are not objects **worthy of thought**, but **phenomena** which are despicable as they are despised."[27]

Karl Marx's arsenal of satirical weapons was tremendous. It comprised irony, mockery, sarcasm, grotesque, satirical hyperbole and taunt of contempt. He used all these weapons to slay the enemy. In his publicistic productions "the system of scornful gibes worked faultlessly".[18] In a letter to Ferdinand Lassalle, dated March 28, 1859, in which he commented on the use of the press in fighting against the enemies of the proletariat Marx remarked that "it is necessary to pour poison wherever it is needed".[19]

In the wide range of Karl Marx's satirical methods the method of contrast played an important part. It assumed a variety of forms. In some cases it was contrast in style. Here the publicist would combine in a single sentence words with opposite stylistic colouring, such as a "patriotic paunch". However, more frequently he would use contrast in meaning. For instance, he would coin a stable combination comprising the

name of a politician which was a synonym of betrayal, cowardice, and reactionary views and an attribute with a lofty, solemn huse: "the great Camphausen", "the immortal Hansemann", and the "most venerable Brüggemann". Such a combination acquired a shade of contemptuous irony. The publicist would frequently unfold an ironical characteristic of his "hero": "the great Camphausen, knight of grand debate, hero of compromise" etc. Constant repetition of these set phrases would turn their elements into synonyms. When a reader encountered in the text an ironical attribute such as "knight of grand debate" or "hero of compromise", he would know that reference was being made to Camphausen. Marx would also use contrast between the outward form of the sentence and its true meaning. in the article "A New Year Greeting" he wrote:

"Honour and glory to the Prussian army for the Posen campaign!"[20]

This sentence was a stinging taunt, because the readers knew only too well what sort of "exploits" the Prussian soldiers performed in the war against unarmed Poles.

One of Karl Marx's favourite satirical devices was to combine a literary or mythological image with a simile. Thus, he compared Schücking, a journalist working for the **Kölnische Zeitung**, to Cassandra, prophetess from ancient Greek epos, because he ventured to predict the development of the revolution in Germany. He called the British minister Russel the New Agamemnon who was prepared to sacrifice the New Iphigenia – his draft electoral reform.

Karl Marx made expert use of the weapons of satire. Their selection and use depended on the personality of the opponent, on the role he played in social-political life, and on the effect his actions produced on the development of the revolutionary movement. The publicist attacked the hesitant, vacillating left members of the Prussian National Assembly with irony and ridicule exposing their timidness and petty calculations. He would mercilessly mock the enemies of the revolution and the proletariat, the traitors and deserters to the enemy camp. Marx

combined in his lampoons the "indignant sternness of Tacitus, the deadly witticism of Juvenal and the holy wrath of Dante".[21] The arrows of his satire would hit the bull's eye and pierce the enemy's heart.

Being unable to polemise with Karl Marx his opponents would miss no opportunity to cast aspersions on him. This was a manifestation of their impotence. They were unable to stand up to the proletarian publicist. Marx would never condescend to polemise with an opponent who attacked him personally. However, he considered it his duty to fight an opponent, if it was a case of defending the proletariat and its party he himself represented. He would also defend the Marxist ideas which he promoted.

2. Promoter of the Theory of Scientific Communism

Fighting the enemies of the revolutionary proletariat, constant and bitter polemics with bourgeois ideologues, opponents of Marxism, bourgeois "journalists of scandal, blackmail and slander"[22] were only one side of Karl Marx's public activity. While seeking to undermine the foundations of the exploiting system, to expose and refute the arguments, the subterfuges of the "ideological cretins of the bourgeoisie",[23] Marx never overlooked the other, equally important, side of his work, namely destruction for the sake of construction. Marx was working on the theory of dialectical and historical materialism, on a new, Marxist, political economy and the theory of scientific communism. And his publicistic productions made an important contribution to this. His work in the sphere of publicism was a source of materials and means for collection, initial processing of these materials for his scientific work. His publicistic works enabled him to check in practice the validity of the theses, propositions and conclusions he arrived at in the course of the research. They were an indispensable form of dissemination and advancement of Marxist ideas.

While polemising with the enemies of the revolutionary proletariat, while refuting their arguments and assertions, Karl Marx would promote in his publicistic works his theories and doctrines. He proved the soundness of his ideas, of the tactical slogans and calls he had developed on their basis. Marx's creative heritage includes many works specially written for the purpose of advancement of Marxist ideas. Suffice it to mention the "Wage Labour and Capital" serial. However, in the overwhelming majority of cases his scientific and publicistic works established, defended and promoted Marxist ideas, while exposing and refuting fallacious theories, slanderous statements and false arguments. In Marx's publicistic works elements of propaganda and agitation are just as organically combined.

Practical everyday propaganda through journalistic channels enabled Karl Marx to establish and constantly maintain contacts with broad proletarian masses. The articles and other materials written by the founders of Marxism produced a powerful ideological impact on the masses of working people. This impact derived its power from a factual source, namely persistent exposure of the relentless exploitation of the workers, unlawful use of female and child labour, arbitrary practices of the judiciary and police authorities, suppression of democratic freedoms and, at the same time, reports on the successes achieved in the rallying and organisation of the revolutionaries and on the effective rebuffs they administered on the bourgeoisie and its servants. It was only this factual source that enabled them to advance political propaganda and combine it with the promotion of theory. It was this that made it possible for them to explain the fundamental ideas of Marxism, show the need and the ways for implementing them in practical political class struggle of the proletariat, reveal the economic foundation of historical development and its propsects, and refute the false ideas and theories that diverted the workers from the revolutionary road.

Karl Marx, naturally, conducted this propaganda with the help of publicistic methods and forms. To ensure the success of

their propaganda the founders of Marxism would present the most complicated theoretical questions and problems in a most popular form, using clear cut formulae, effective proof and convincingly substantiating their conclusions. They would invariably proceed from facts and, above all, from the practical lessons learnt from revolution.

CONCLUSION

Examination of the distinguishing features of Karl Marx's publicistic works has led the present author to a simple conclusion. In publicism Karl Marx played the revolutionary role he played in other spheres of practical party work and intellectual labour. Together with Friedrich Engels he laid the foundation for proletarian communist publicism, established its role and character, line and tasks, its key elements and distinguishing features. While writing his own works, Marx laid the foundations and established the criteria which determined the level of the skill of a communist publicist. Finally, he exercised a tremendous influence on his contemporaries – leaders of and participants in the proletarian movement in many countries. Marx equipped them with his experience in journalism and editing. Many of them became distinguished revolutionary publicists in their own right. Marx acquainted them with all the aspects of publicistic work. Among them were W. Wolff, H. Weert, A. Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Franz Mehring in Germany, George Harney and E. Jones in England, P. Lafargue and J. Guesde in France, G. V. Plekhanov and V. Zasulich in Russia and many others who became revolutionaries under the direct influence of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and their ideas.

It would be logical to ask why it was precisely Marx that played such an important role in the history of publicism. Why was it Marx that first realised the possibilities that existed in publicism for a proletarian writer, i. e. possibilities for his active intervention in history and in the process of progressive transformation of human society? It appears that his fruitful in-

tervention in publicism was not fortuitous. The historical circumstances at the time conditioned the need to incorporate journalism and publicism in the sphere of interests of proletarian ideologues. The course of history, the process of formation and development of the proletariat as a class made it necessary to employ publicism in its interests. Marx's switchover to dialectical materialism and proletarian communism, to work on a new proletarian world outlook was a law-governed act in the sphere of theory and practice. His decision to engage in publicistic work was an equally law-governed step.

By being the first to prove the need for studying contemporary history, for making a scientific-publicistic analysis of current events as they developed and immediately after they occurred he did a great service to the revolution. What was particularly important was that he revealed the role communist publicists played in the development of revolutionary practice and theory. Marx's publicistic works showed how wrong bourgeois historians were, when they asserted that it was impossible objectively to study current events and to give an unbiased reflection thereof owing to lack of a time perspective.

As the present author summed up the results of Karl Marx's work as a publicist, he could not help wondering about the topicality of his publicistic heritage. Topicality is at the same time a question of tradition in communist publicism. What is the value of such tradition? What role does it play today? How is tradition passed on? Since it is Marx that is being discussed in this book, it is necessary to establish the traditions he founded in the field of publicism. What is the role of these traditions today? How were they developed in later years?

Karl Marx established a wide range of traditions in his publicistic works. The present author will deal here only with the most important ones. Marx was fully aware of the role a communist publicist played as a public and party leader. He was conscious of his duty to the cause he was working for. He approached journalism and publicism as party work. This means that his works are imbued with the party spirit. In keeping with

this tradition the communist publicist is conscious of his lofty responsibility to his readers, to the party, to his editorial office, to his colleagues and himself. Marx, further, established the traditions of inseverable ties between publicism and science, whereby publicistic works must proceed from the achievements of science. Another tradition of paramount importance Marx originated is that of a class approach to life, application of the dialectico-materialist method to the study and reflection of reality. The militant tradition in communist publicism, its offensive character in the fight against the enemies of the working class is still valid.

All these traditions took shape when Karl Marx was working as a publicist. They are of methodological value. Taken together, though in somewhat different, more advanced, form, these traditions continue to exercise a powerful influence on the work of communist publicists all over the world.

Since Karl Marx passed away the publicistic traditions he founded have not remained unchanged. They were developed and enriched by his followers and continuators, above all by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and his comrades-in-arms, i. e. those whom we regard as members of the Leninist school of publicism. As V. I. Lenin put it, he was "in love" with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. He read and re-read their works learning from them the ways to solve the problems facing the working class movement: "... These are real people!" he exclaimed. "We should learn from them. We should not abandon this stand."[1]

Lenin would "consult" Marx on all matters of party work, including publicism. He had thorough knowledge of many of Karl Marx's works, he emphasised their merits and in general expressed a very high opinion of them. Lenin attached special importance to the work of Marx and Engels in the sphere of publicism during the German bourgeois democratic revolution of 1848–1849. He referred to the **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** as "the finest unsurpassed organ of the revolutionary proletariat".[2]

To support his arguments in polemics with political and ideological opponents and to strike at the enemies of Marxism he would quote from Marx's works that had been printed in that paper.

V. I. Lenin showed what kind of treatment the ideological and creative heritage of the great proletarian revolutionaries deserved. He also showed how their best traditions should be used. According to V. I. Lenin continuity in revolutionary ideas and traditions did not boil down to mere repetition. As he saw it, continuity here meant creative development of these ideas and traditions with account of new revolutionary experience and of new conditions. In his article "Our Programme" Lenin wrote:

"We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists **must** develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an **independent** elaboration of Marx's theory is especially essential for Russian socialists; for this theory provides only guiding principles."[3] Although Lenin dealt here above all with the development of Marxist theoretical ideas, his opinion fully applied to the development of traditions of this great doctrine, including the traditions of revolutionary practice and publicism.

On the one hand, V. I. Lenin creatively developed the best traditions Marx had originated in his publicistic works and, on the other, he enriched them. He introduced new elements into these traditions, adding new facets to communist publicism. He also increased the potentialities of publicism.

Friedrich Engels wrote: "We never forget that all the knowledge we acquire is necessarily limited and conditioned by the circumstances under which we acquire it."[4] Indeed, the character and level of Karl Marx's publicistic skill were determined not only by his knowledge, abilities and possibilities, but also, to an equal degree, by the specifics of the historical period during which he worked as a publicist. They were determined

by such factors as acute social, class antagonisms in society, the level of development of the proletarian movement, level of consciousness and organisation of the workers.

V. I. Lenin and his comrades-in-arms became leaders of the revolutionary proletariat and revolutionary publicists in a new historical epoch, at a new, higher stage of development reached by the international working class movement. By then the revolutionaries had accumulated a wealth of new experience in all spheres of revolutionary party work, including publicism, and Lenin had made an invaluable contribution to the theory of Marxism. Proceeding from this proletarian publicists could successfully pursue their propaganda work in new historical conditions.

V. I. Lenin constantly emphasised the role and importance of party publicism as an important part of general party work. Stating his attitude to the duties of a party publicist Lenin wrote: "... Words are action ..."[5].

He pointed out: "This proposition is indisputable when applied to history in **general**."[6]

He extended the ties between publicism and theory, i. e. science. Having developed the theory of functions of journalism, having enriched Marx's doctrine on the party press, Lenin outlined the guidelines both for the theory and practice of communist publicism in the new historical conditions. He imparted an even more militant, offensive character to it. He turned publicism into a most powerful weapon of the Bolshevik Party which used it to fight its enemies.

After the proletarian, socialist revolution triumphed V. I. Lenin developed the theoretical and practical foundations of communist journalism. This was an achievement of permanent significance. In a number of his publicistic writings of the early 1920s Lenin pointed out that the tasks facing journalism in socialist society had changed. It was, therefore, necessary to change the character of the press as such and of publicism too. As Lenin put it, the purpose of publicism was to study the experience in the upbuilding of the foundations of socialism, the

experience acquired in the development of a new, socialist attitude to labour and to give publicity to the best achievements in this sphere. Publicism should play an increasing role in the education of the popular masses on vivid, concrete examples and models from all spheres of life[7]. This did not mean that it was time to abandon criticism of shortcomings with the help of publicistic methods. On the contrary, Lenin demanded that Soviet publicists should wage "an effective, ruthless and truly revolutionary war against **specific** wrongdoers".[8] Examination and promotion of advanced experience in socialist construction and criticism of shortcomings were different aspects of the same task facing the publicists in the conditions that had taken shape in Russia after the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. Lenin himself set an example to show how this task should be accomplished. He demonstrated this in the numerous articles he wrote for Soviet newspapers and journals.

The experience and traditions of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in publicistic skill were further developed in the works of V. I. Lenin and his comrades-in-arms. This was above all conditioned by the rapid growth of the public that read the Bolshevik press, by the fact that it acquired a really mass character. Though Marx and Engels dreamed of this, they could not accomplish this because of the relative class immaturity of the proletarians and the inadequate level of development of the working class movement. And now, at a new stage in the history of the proletarian press, this had become possible. Thanks to the efforts of Lenin and the Party he led a mass communist press was created after the Great October Socialist Revolution triumphed. This press expresses the interests of the popular masses and they are taking an active part in its functioning. This produced a law-governed effect on the character of communist publicism. This development furthered its popularity, it has caused it to assume a clearer and simpler form. The rising level of mass consciousness and rapid dissemination of Marxist ideas in the masses have manifested themselves in higher requirements to the communist press, to the publicists who write

for it, and to their professional skill. The reciprocal influence of two interlinked factors (which was observed in the days of Marx and Engels) has noticeably become more powerful. The press and publicism have been playing a role of mounting importance in the ideological education of the masses. However, at the same time, the rising level of mass consciousness and organisation has caused the masses to present higher requirements to the press and publicistic works. It is compelling the publicists to search for and use more effective methods and instruments which would produce a more powerful influence on the readers.

The sharpening of social antagonisms at the stage of imperialism, the intensification of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the involvement of multimillion masses in political life have made communist publicism more militant and polemical. The traditions of party polemics founded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels have been developed and enriched by their ideological successors and continuators. The arsenal of satirical means used by Bolshevik publicists in the fight against the enemies of the revolutionary proletariat has been considerably expanded. There is a direct line from Marx's lampoons to the brilliant lampoons of V. I. Lenin and the publicists of the Leninist school.

Though Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin lived and worked in different epochs, they had much in common inasfar as their publicistic methods went. The leaders of the world proletariat shared a common ideology, they pursued the same tasks and aims. These factors caused them to use the same methods in their publicistic works. Lenin's publicistic works are characterised by the same purposefulness, deep thought and logical analysis which were so typical of Marx. Lenin displayed the same partiality for figurativeness, emotion and passion. Just like Marx's works Lenin's works were distinguished for organic fusion of content and form,-content enjoying priority. Just like Marx Lenin took account of the specific character of his readers. Naturally, in many ways Lenin's publicistic

works were on a new level. However, the two great publicists proceeded from common fundamentals. That is why it would be fair to say that there is a single line in communist publicism. In it the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin form inseparably interconnected stages.

At the graveside of Karl Marx Friedrich Engels said:

"His name will endure through the ages and so will his work."

Life itself has proved these words true. Karl Marx's publicistic works were a bright aspect of the whole of his great work. The great cause Marx worked for is acquiring ever greater importance and is playing an ever more significant role in the shaping of humanity's destinies.

REFERENCES

[1]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, vol. 19, pp. 23, 26.
[2]) Documents and Resolutions, the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow, February 23–March 3, 1981, p. 9.
[3]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 18, p. 584.
[4]) Quoted from Gerasimov G. Admissions of a "Subversive Agent". **Pravda,** 1977, February 17.
[5]) Ibid.
[6]) Kritik der politischen Ökonomie heute. 100 Jahre "Kapital". Frankfurt am Main–Wien, 1968, S. 91.
[7]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 21, p. 222.
[8]) Publizistik. Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft von Presse, Rundfunk, Film, Rhetorik, Werbung und Meinungsbildung. Bremen, 1962, Hf. 1, S. 30.
[9]) Ruge A. Briefwechsel und Tagebücher aus den Jahren 1825–1880. Erster Band. Berlin 1886.
[10]) Blumenberg W. Marx in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten. Hamburg, 1962, S. 118; Nikolayevsky B., Maenchen-Helfen O. Karl. Marx. Eine Biographie. Hannover, 1963, S. 241.
[11]) Pin R. Marx. New York, 1968, p. 269, 270.
[12]) Künzli A. Karl Marx. Eine Psychographie. Wien–Frankfurt am Main-Zürich, 1966, S. 258.
[13]) Vide. Nechkina M. Literary Form of "Capital" by Karl Marx. Moscow, 1932; Orleanski A. I. Literary Images in K. Marx's "Capital". Moscow, 1968; Volkov G. Birth of a Genius. Moscow, 1968; Ghenri E. The Publicist and His Epoch. – **Literaturnaya gazeta,** 1967, January 8–15; Frizman L. On Karl Marx's Literary Laboratory. – **Voprosy literatury,** 1968, No. 9; Berezhnoi A. F. K. Marx and F. Engels on the Press. Moscow, 1968; Golman L. From the League of Communists to the First International. Moscow, 1970; Karl Marx. Biography. Moscow, 1968, et al.
[14]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 19, p. 558.

[15]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 2, p. 26.
[16]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 36, p. 269 (Russian edition).
[17]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 21, p. 337 (Russian edition).
[18]) Pain R. Marx, pp. 337–338.
[19]) Vide Gurevich S. The **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** of K. Marx and F. Engels. Moscow, 1958; Gurevich S. Preconditions for the Emergence of a Marxist Theory of Journalism. Moscow, 1972; Gurevich S. K. Marx and F. Engels, Founders of the Theory of Communist Journalism. Moscow, 1973; Gurevich S. Blasting a False Legend. K. Marx and F. Engels on the Bourgeois Press. Moscow, 1975, et al.

Chapter I.
THE SOURCES OF PROLETARIAN PUBLICISM

[1]) Marx K. and Engels F. The German Ideology, p. 503.
[2]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 40, p. 6, (Russian edition).
[3]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 25, p. 406.
[4]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 21, p. 49.
[5]) Vide Marx K. Capital, v. I. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, p. 25.
[6]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 18, p. 432; v. 19, p. 119 (Russian edition).
[7]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 10, p. 399.
[8]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 29, p. 480; v. 34, p. 191 (Russian edition).
[9]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 10, p. 409.
[10]) Vice Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 172.
[11]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 29, p. 484 (Russian edition).
[12]) Chernyshevski N. G. Lessing, His Time, His Life and Work. Complete Works, v. IV. Moscow, 1948, p. 9 (Russian edition).
[13]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 33, p. 266 (Russian edition).
[14]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 328.
[15]) Börne L. Letters from Paris. Baiter of the French. Mos-

cow, 1938, p. 6 (Russian edition).

[16]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 349.

[17]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 10, p. 137.

[18]) Vide Börne L. Coll. Works in Three Volumes, v. III, St. Petersburg, p. 686 (Russian edition).

[19]) Vide Marx and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 30.

[20]) Vide Weber B. G. German Historiography of the Late XVIII–First Half of the XIX Century. – Marx, the Historian. Moscow, 1968, pp. 78–80 (Russian edition).

[21]) Serebryakov M. V. Engels in His Youth. Leningrad, 1958, p. 104.

[22]) Vide Mehring F. Karl Marx. History of His Life. Moscow, 1957, p. 49 (Russian edition).

[23]) Koeppen C. F. Friedrich der Grosse und seine Widersacher. Leipzig, 1840, S. 3, 9, 10.

[24]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 11, p. 267.

[25]) Mehring F. History of German Social Democracy, v. I. Moscow–Petrograd, 1920, p. 261.

[26]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. The German Ideology. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1964, p. 222.

[27]) Vide Mikhailov M. I. History of the League of Communists. Moscow, 1968, pp. 58–59. (Russian edition).

[28]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 402.

[29]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 201.

[30]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 201–202.

[31]) Vide Leviyova S. Z., Sinelnikova I. S. Marx's Manuscript Heritage in History. – Marx, the Historian, p. 588 (Russian edition).

[32]) Vide Dalin V. M., Nepomnyashchaya N. I. Historical Books in Marx's Library. – Marx, the Historian, p. 607 (Russian edition).

[33]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 101.

[34]) Vide Marx K. Capital, v. I, p. 694.

[35]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 4, p. 81.

[36]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works in Three Volumes, v. 3, pp. 169–170.

[37]) Vide Dalin V. M., Nepomnyashchaya N. I. Historical Books in Marx's Library. – Marx, the Historian, p. 619) Russian edition).

[38]) Vide Ibid., p. 625.

[39]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 149.

[40]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 14, pp. 96–97.

[41]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 189.

[42]) Ibid.
[43]) Vide Ibid.
[44]) Vide Ibid.
[45]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 17, p. 386 (Russian edition).
[46]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 33, p. 133 (Russian edition).
[47]) Vide Kunina V. E. Karl Marx and the British Working Class Movement. Moscov, 1968; Chartism. Collection of Articles. Moscow, 1961. (Russian edition).
[48]) Vide Kunina V. E. Karl Marx and the British Working Class Movement, p. 78 (Russian edition).

Chapter II.
SCHOLAR PUBLICIST

[1]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 12, pp. 107–108.
[2]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 11, pp. 213–214.
[3]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 3, p. 163.
[4]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, pp. 144–145.
[5]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 3, p. 336.
[6]) Marx K. and Engels F. Theses on Feurbach, p. 16.
[7]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 30, p. 431. (Russian edition).
[8]) Reminiscences of Marx and Engels. Moscow, 1956, p. 98 Russian edition
[9]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 1, p. 322.
[10]) Ibid.
[11]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 21, p. 221.
[12]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 182.
[13]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 1, p. 502.
[14]) Vide Ibid., 503.
[15]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 1, p. 150.
[16]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 8, p. 104.
[17]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 10, p. 5.
[18]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 2, p. 178.
[19]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 392.
[20]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 1, p. 506.

[21]) Ibid., p. 510.
[22]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 1, p. 186.
[23]) Ibid.
[24]) Ibid.
[25]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 142.
[26]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 195.
[27]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, p. 119.
[28]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 489.
[29]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 489.
[30]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works. v. 16, p. 147.
[31]) Marx's Views on the Development of Russia in the Latter Half of the 19th Century vide Konyushaya R. P. Karl Marx and the Revolutionary Russia. Moscow, 1975.
[32]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 19, p. 554.
[33]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 21, p. 57.
[34]) Vide Mehring F. Karl Marx. History of His Life, p. 262 (Russian edition).
[35]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 22, p. 354 (Russian edition).
[36]) Vide Zastenker N. Y. Modern Historiography of the European Countries and America. Moscow, 1967, pp. 223–226 (Russian edition).
[37]) Quoted from Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, p. 315.
[38]) Quoted from Golman L. From the League of Communists to the First International, p. 132 (Russian edition).
[39]) Blümenberg W. Karl Marx in seinen Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten, S. 120.
[40]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 728 (Russian edition).
[41]) V. I. Lenin too was endowed with such special publicistic vision (vide Yakovlev B. Lenin, the Publicist.)
[42]) Vide Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 68 (Russian edition).
[43]) Künzli A. Karl Marx. Eine Psychographie, S. 262.
[44]) Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 162.
[45]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 1, p. 50.
[46]) Vide Leviyova S. Z., Sinelnikova I. M. Marx's Manuscript Heritage in History. – Marx, the Historian, pp. 553, 582.
[47]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 14, p. 671.

[48]) Ibid.
[49]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, p. 391.
[50]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 30, p. 11, (Russian edition).
[51]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, p. 119.
[52]) Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 68 (Russian edition).
[53]) Vide ibid., p. 97.
[54]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 337.
[55]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 19, p. 168 (Russian edition).

Chapter III.
FUNDAMENTALS OF A CREATIVE METHOD

[1]) Engels F. Anti-Dühring. Moscow, 1959, p. 36.
[2]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 11.
[3]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 23, p. 189 (Russian edition).
[4]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 27, p. 367 (Russian edition).
[5]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 316–317.
[6]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 4, p. 49.
[7]) Ibid.
[8]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 349.
[9]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 349.
[10]) Vide Ibid., p. 314.
[11]) Ibid., p. 318.
[12]) Vide ibid., p. 312.
[13]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 29, p. 438 (Russian edition).
[14]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 352.
[15]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 267.
[16]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 25.
[17]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 548 (Russian edition).
[18]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 343.
[19]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 334.
[20]) Shtein G. Karl Marx and the Peasants of the Mosel. – Annals of Marxism, 1926, No. 1, p. 42 (Russian edition).
[21]) Vide Lapin N. I. Young Marx. Moscow, 1968, p. 120 (Russian edition).
[22]) Vide Lapin N. I. The Role of Concrete Social Studies

in the Formation of Marxism. – Marx and Sociology. Moscov, 1968, p. 92 (Russian edition).

[23]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 318.
[24]) Vide ibid., p. 349.
[25]) Ibid., p. 168.
[26]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 17, p. 243.
[27]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 13, p. 61.
[28]) Pain R. Marx, p. 273.
[29]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 332.
[30]) Vide ibid., p. 334.
[31]) Vide ibid., p. 332.
[32]) Vide ibid., v. 3, p. 200.
[33]) Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 70 (Russian edition).
[34]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 393.
[35]) Engels F. Anti-Dühring, p. 63.
[36]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 144.
[37]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 37, p. 243 (Russian edition).
[38]) Vide Kuzmin V. P. The System Principle in Karl Marx's Theory and Methodology. Moscow, 1976, p. 99 (Russian edition).
[39]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. The German Ideology. Moscow, 1964, p. 38.
[40]) Vide Marx and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 392.
[41]) Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, pp. 68, 69 (Russian edition).
[42]) Vide Zdorovega V. Words are Action. Moscow, 1979, p. 48 (Russian edition).
[43]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 144.
[44]) Vide ibid.
[45]) Ibid., p. 147.
[46]) Ibid., p. 147–148.
[47]) Ibid., p. 149.
[48]) Ibid., p. 149.
[49]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 189 (Russian edition).
[50]) Ibid.
[51]) Ibid., p. 191.
[52]) Vide ibid., p. 192.
[53]) Engels F. Dialectics of Nature. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, pp. 231–232.
[54]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 392.

[55]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 213.
[56]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 39.
[57]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 548 (Russian edition).
[58]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 15, p. 441 (Russian edition).
[59]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 70.
[60]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 711 (Russian edition).
[61]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 161.
[62]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, pp. 312–313.
[63]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 1, pp. 394–395.
[64]) Vide Marx K. Capital, v. III, p. 787.
[65]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 55 (Russian edition).
[66]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 25, p. 113.
[67]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 4, p. 447 (Russian edition).
[68]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 2, p. 223.
[69]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 38.
[70]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 38, p. 12.
[71]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 18, p. 532 (Russian edition).
[72]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 227.
[73]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 182.
[74]) Ibid.
[75]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, pp. 178–179.
[76]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 18–19.
[77]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 358 (Russian edition).
[78]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 182.
[79]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 166 (Russian edition).
[80]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 334 (Russian edition).
[81]) Vide ibid., p. 357.
[82]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 262–263.
[83]) Vide ibid., p. 226.
[84]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 120 (Russian edition).
[85]) Ibid., p. 434.
[86]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 223.

[87]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 28
[88]) Vide ibid., pp. 67–72.
[89]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, pp. 333–336.
[90]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, pp. 3–8.
[91]) Zdorovega V. Words are Action, p. 121 (Russian edition).
[92]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 18, p. 254.
[93]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 166 (Russian edition).
[94]) Vide Lenin V. I. coll. Works, v. 23, p. 272.
[95]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 76 (Russian edition).
[96]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 133.
[97]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 323.
[98]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7. p. 470, v. 12, p. 662, 663.
[99]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 319.
[100]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 50.
[101]) Vide ibid., p. 88.
[102]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 401 (Russian edition).
[103]) Vide Heine H. Complete Works in 12 Volumes, v. 10. Moscow, 1937, p. 337 (Russian edition).
[104]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 18.
[105]) Vide ibid., p. 66.
[106]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, pp. 40–41.
[107]) Vide Lapin N. I. Young Engels, p. 74 (Russian edition).
[108]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 30, p. 435 (Russian edition).
[109]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 428 (Russian edition).
[110]) Vide Timofeyev L. I. Fundamentals of the Theory of Literature. Moscow, 1976, p. 60 (Russian edition).
[111]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 418.
[112]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 466.
[113]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 373.
[114]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 11, p. 287.
[115]) Vide ibid., p. 316.
[116]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 17, p. 324 (Russian edition).
[117]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 17, pp. 68–69.
[118]) Ibic., pp. 69–70.
[119]) Vide ibid., pp. 25–26.

[120]) Vide Golman L. I. Historical Problems in Marx's Publicistic Works of the 1850s-early 1860s.– Marx, the Historian, pp. 279–280 (Russian edition).
[121]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 10, p. 311.
[122]) Timofeyev L. and Vengrov N. Concise Dictionary of Literary Terms. Moscow, 1958, p. 92 (Russian edition).
[133]) Vide Cherepakhov M. S. Problems of Theory of Publicism. Moscow, 1973, p. 128 (Russian edition).
[124]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, pp. 498–499.
[125]) Marx K and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 245 (Russian edition).
[126]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 11, pp. 305–306.
[127]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 414 (Russian edition).
[128]) Ibid., p. 191 (Russian edition).

Chapter IV.
MASTER OF GENRE PAINTING

[1]) Vide Friedlander G. K. K. Marx and F. Engels and Questions of Literature. Moscow, 1968, p. 135 (Russian edition).
[2]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 737 (Russian edition).
[3]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, pp. 333–334.
[4]) Vide Lenin V. I. Complete Coll. Works, v. 47, p. 134 (Russian edition).
[5]) Vide Lenin V. I. complete Coll. Works, v. 9, p. 407 (Russian edition).
[6]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 198.
[7]) Ibid., p. 227.
[8]) Vide ibid., p. 228.
[9]) Lenin V. I. Col. Works, v. 25, p. 407.
[10]) Marx K. and Engels W. F. Works, v. 10, p. 490.
[11]) Vide ibid., p. 510.
[12]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 13, pp. 510–512. (Russian edition).
[13]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 198.
[14]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 271–280.
[15]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 453.
[16]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 11, pp. 538–539.
[17]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 298. (Russian

edition).
[18]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 10, pp. 254–255.
[19]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 123; v. 7, p. 176; v. 8, p. 25; v. 8, p. 65.
[20]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, pp. 187–188.

Chapter V.
THE FORM HAS CONTENT

[1]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, pp. 311–312.
[2]) Vide ibid., pp. 229–230.
[3]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 198.
[4]) Ibid.
[5]) Vide ibid.
[6]) Vide Marx K. Capital, v. I, p. 18.
[7]) Ibid., p. 19.
[8]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 5, p. 311.
[9]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 2, p. 78.
[10]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 22, p. 81 (Russian edition).
[11]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, p. 41.
[12]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 40, pp. 451–452.
[13]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 27, p. 370. (Russian edition).
[14]) Vide ibid., p. 367.
[15]) Vide ibid., p. 370.
[16]) Vide ibid., p. 372.
[17]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 277. (Russian edition).
[18]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 27, p. 372.
[19]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 35, p. 140 (Russian edition).
[20]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 22, p. 82 (Russian edition).
[21]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, pp. 334–335.
[22]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F., Works, v. 1, p. 334.
[23]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 198.
[24]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 30, p. 75 (Russian edition).
[25]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 30, p. 80 (Russian edition).
[26]) Ushinski K. D. Coll. Works, v. II. Moscow, 1948, pp.

374–375 (Russian edition).

[27]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 30.

[28]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 250.

[29]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 50 (Russian edition).

[30]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 8.

[31]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 213.

[32]) Vide Marx K.and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 333.

[33]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 120 (Russian edition).

[34]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 158.

[35]) Vide ibid., p. 65.

[36]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 14, p. 53.

[37]) Vide ibid., pp. 55–56.

[38]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 158.

[39]) Vide ibid., p. 162.

[40]) Vide ibid., p. 162.

[41]) Vide ibid., pp. 162–163.

[42]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 178.

[43]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 498.

[44]) Ibid., p. 499.

[45]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 54.

[46]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8. p. 36.

[47]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 454.

[48]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 93.

[49]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 208 (Russian edition).

[50]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, pp. 445–446; v. 7, p. 298.

[51]) Vide Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 96 (Russian edition).

[52]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 355.

[53]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 492.

[54]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 271.

[55]) Vide Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 70 (Russian edition).

[56]) Central Archives, Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Moses Hess an Iskander (A. Herzen), f. 173, op. 1, unit III, 1648, No. 4.

[57]) Schwerbrock W. Karl Marx privat. Paul List Verlag. Munchen, 1962, S 6–7.

[58]) Künzli A. Karl Marx. Eine Psychographie, S. 230–231, 239.

[59]) Vide Mehring. Karl Marx, History of His Life, p. 257 (Russian edition).
[60]) Vide Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 97 (Russian edition).
[61]) Vide Cornu A. Karl Marx and Engels. Life and Work, vol. 1. Moscow, p. 258 (Russian edition).
[62]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 220.
[63]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 31, p. 367 (Russian edition).
[64]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 164.
[65]) Ibid.
[66]) Ibid., p. 166.
[67]) Ibid., p. 178.
[68]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 3.
[69]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 317.
[70]) Ibid., p. 34.
[71]) Vide Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, pp. 96–97 (Russian edition).
[72]) Vide Mehring F. Karl Marx. History of His Life, p. 199 (Russian edition).
[73]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 499.
[74]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 16–17, p. 14–15.
[75]) Vide ibid., pp. 106, 107.
[76]) Vide Mehring F. Karl Marx. History of His Life, p. 257 (Russian edition).
[77]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 134.
[78]) Ibid., p. 214.
[79]) Vide ibid., p. 162.
[80]) Ibid., pp. 165–166.
[81]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, pp. 347–348.
[82]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 165.
[83]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 2, p. 24.
[84]) Karl Marx. A Biography, pp. 15–16 (Russian edition).
[85]) G. Volkov wrote about this peculiarity of Karl Marx's style (vide Volkov G. Birth of a Genius. Moscow, 1968, p. 160. – Russian edition.)
[86]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 162.
[87]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 123.
[88]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 182.
[89]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 313.
[90]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 162–163.
[91]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 500.

[92]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, pp. 445–446.
[93]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 296–297.
[94]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F., Works, v. 9, pp. 125–132.
[95]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 168–169.
[96]) V. I. Lenin, frequently made use of such synonymic series in his publicistic works (vide Yakovlev B. Lenin, the Publicist, p. 83. – Russian edition).
[97]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, pp. 259–260.
[98]) Vide ibid., p. 270.
[99]) Ibid., p. 174.
[100]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 256.
[101]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 213.

Chapter VI.
DESTRUCTION FOR CONSTRUCTION

[1]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 15, p. 29.
[2]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 294.
[3]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, p. 316.
[4]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 142.
[5]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 317.
[6]) Vide ibid., p. 316.
[7]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 37, p. 332 (Russian edition).
[8]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 351.
[9]) Ibid., pp. 351–352.
[10]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 28, p. 422 (Russian edition).
[11]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 321.
[12]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 512.
[13]) Mende G. Karl Marx's Transition from Revolutionary Democracy to Communism. Moscow, 1957, pp. 43–44, (Russian edition).
[14]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 206.
[15]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 35, p. 357 (Russian edition).
[16]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 179.
[17]) Vide ibid., p. 177.
[18]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 30, p. 402 (Russian edition).
[19]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 40, p. 409.
[20]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 225.

[21]) Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 97 (Russian edition).
[22]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 503 (Russian edition).
[23]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 166.

CONCLUSION

[1]) Lenin V. I. Complete Coll. Works, v. 49, p. 378. (Russian edition).
[2]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 21, p. 81.
[3]) Lenin V. I. Coll. works, v. 4, pp. 211–212.
[4]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 21, p. 302 (Russian edition).
[5]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 9, p. 70.
[6]) Ibid.
[7]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 28, p. 98.
[8]) Ibid.

Semyon M. Gurevich
Karl Marx – the Publicist
Translated from Russian by V. Krivoshchekov
Published by the International Organization of Journalists
Prague 1, Pařížská 9
Printed by Severografia – Most

REFERENCES

[1]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, vol. 19, pp. 23, 26.
[2]) Documents and Resolutions, the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Moscow, February 23–March 3, 1981, p. 9.
[3]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 18, p. 584.
[4]) Quoted from Gerasimov G. Admissions of a "Subversive Agent". **Pravda,** 1977, February 17.
[5]) Ibid.
[6]) Kritik der politischen Ökonomie heute. 100 Jahre "Kapital". Frankfurt am Main–Wien, 1968, S. 91.
[7]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 21, p. 222.
[8]) Publizistik. Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft von Presse, Rundfunk, Film, Rhetorik, Werbung und Meinungsbildung. Bremen, 1962, Hf. 1, S. 30.
[9]) Ruge A. Briefwechsel und Tagebücher aus den Jahren 1825–1880. Erster Band. Berlin 1886.
[10]) Blumenberg W. Marx in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten. Hamburg, 1962, S. 118; Nikolayevsky B., Maenchen-Helfen O. Karl. Marx. Eine Biographie. Hannover, 1963, S. 241.
[11]) Pin R. Marx. New York, 1968, p. 269, 270.
[12]) Künzli A. Karl Marx. Eine Psychographie. Wien–Frankfurt am Main-Zürich, 1966, S. 258.
[13]) Vide. Nechkina M. Literary Form of "Capital" by Karl Marx. Moscow, 1932; Orleanski A. I. Literary Images in K. Marx's "Capital". Moscow, 1968; Volkov G. Birth of a Genius. Moscow, 1968; Ghenri E. The Publicist and His Epoch. – **Literaturnaya gazeta,** 1967, January 8–15; Frizman L. On Karl Marx's Literary Laboratory. – **Voprosy literatury,** 1968, No. 9; Berezhnoi A. F. K. Marx and F. Engels on the Press. Moscow, 1968; Golman L. From the League of Communists to the First International. Moscow, 1970; Karl Marx. Biography. Moscow, 1968, et al.
[14]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 19, p. 558.

[15]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 2, p. 26.
[16]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 36, p. 269 (Russian edition).
[17]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 21, p. 337 (Russian edition).
[18]) Pain R. Marx, pp. 337–338.
[19]) Vide Gurevich S. The **Neue Rheinische Zeitung** of K. Marx and F. Engels. Moscow, 1958; Gurevich S. Preconditions for the Emergence of a Marxist Theory of Journalism. Moscow, 1972; Gurevich S. K. Marx and F. Engels, Founders of the Theory of Communist Journalism. Moscow, 1973; Gurevich S. Blasting a False Legend. K. Marx and F. Engels on the Bourgeois Press. Moscow, 1975, et al.

Chapter I.
THE SOURCES OF PROLETARIAN PUBLICISM

[1]) Marx K. and Engels F. The German Ideology, p. 503.
[2]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 40, p. 6, (Russian edition).
[3]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 25, p. 406.
[4]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 21, p. 49.
[5]) Vide Marx K. Capital, v. I. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, p. 25.
[6]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 18, p. 432; v. 19, p. 119 (Russian edition).
[7]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 10, p. 399.
[8]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 29, p. 480; v. 34, p. 191 (Russian edition).
[9]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 10, p. 409.
[10]) Vice Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 172.
[11]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 29, p. 484 (Russian edition).
[12]) Chernyshevski N. G. Lessing, His Time, His Life and Work. Complete Works, v. IV. Moscow, 1948, p. 9 (Russian edition).
[13]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 33, p. 266 (Russian edition).
[14]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 328.
[15]) Börne L. Letters from Paris. Baiter of the French. Mos-

cow, 1938, p. 6 (Russian edition).
[16]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 349.
[17]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 10, p. 137.
[18]) Vide Börne L. Coll. Works in Three Volumes, v. III, St. Petersburg, p. 686 (Russian edition).
[19]) Vide Marx and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 30.
[20]) Vide Weber B. G. German Historiography of the Late XVIII–First Half of the XIX Century. – Marx, the Historian. Moscow, 1968, pp. 78–80 (Russian edition).
[21]) Serebryakov M. V. Engels in His Youth. Leningrad, 1958, p. 104.
[22]) Vide Mehring F. Karl Marx. History of His Life. Moscow, 1957, p. 49 (Russian edition).
[23]) Koeppen C. F. Friedrich der Grosse und seine Widersacher. Leipzig, 1840, S. 3, 9, 10.
[24]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 11, p. 267.
[25]) Mehring F. History of German Social Democracy, v. I. Moscow–Petrograd, 1920, p. 261.
[26]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. The German Ideology. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1964, p. 222.
[27]) Vide Mikhailov M. I. History of the League of Communists. Moscow, 1968, pp. 58–59. (Russian edition).
[28]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 402.
[29]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 201.
[30]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 201–202.
[31]) Vide Leviyova S. Z., Sinelnikova I. S. Marx's Manuscript Heritage in History. – Marx, the Historian, p. 588 (Russian edition).
[32]) Vide Dalin V. M., Nepomnyashchaya N. I. Historical Books in Marx's Library. – Marx, the Historian, p. 607 (Russian edition).
[33]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 101.
[34]) Vide Marx K. Capital, v. I, p. 694.
[35]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 4, p. 81.
[36]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works in Three Volumes, v. 3, pp. 169–170.
[37]) Vide Dalin V. M., Nepomnyashchaya N. I. Historical Books in Marx's Library. – Marx, the Historian, p. 619) Russian edition).
[38]) Vide Ibid., p. 625.
[39]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 149.
[40]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 14, pp. 96–97.
[41]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 189.

[42]) Ibid.
[43]) Vide Ibid.
[44]) Vide Ibid.
[45]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 17, p. 386 (Russian edition).
[46]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 33, p. 133 (Russian edition).
[47]) Vide Kunina V. E. Karl Marx and the British Working Class Movement. Moscov, 1968; Chartism. Collection of Articles. Moscow, 1961. (Russian edition).
[48]) Vide Kunina V. E. Karl Marx and the British Working Class Movement, p. 78 (Russian edition).

Chapter II.
SCHOLAR PUBLICIST

[1]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 12, pp. 107–108.
[2]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 11, pp. 213–214.
[3]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 3, p. 163.
[4]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, pp. 144–145.
[5]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 3, p. 336.
[6]) Marx K. and Engels F. Theses on Feurbach, p. 16.
[7]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 30, p. 431. (Russian edition).
[8]) Reminiscences of Marx and Engels. Moscow, 1956, p. 98 Russian edition
[9]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 1, p. 322.
[10]) Ibid.
[11]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 21, p. 221.
[12]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 182.
[13]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 1, p. 502.
[14]) Vide Ibid., 503.
[15]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 1, p. 150.
[16]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 8, p. 104.
[17]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 10, p. 5.
[18]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 2, p. 178.
[19]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 392.
[20]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 1, p. 506.

[21]) Ibid., p. 510.
[22]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 1, p. 186.
[23]) Ibid.
[24]) Ibid.
[25]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 142.
[26]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 195.
[27]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, p. 119.
[28]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 489.
[29]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 489.
[30]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works. v. 16, p. 147.
[31]) Marx's Views on the Development of Russia in the Latter Half of the 19th Century vide Konyushaya R. P. Karl Marx and the Revolutionary Russia. Moscow, 1975.
[32]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 19, p. 554.
[33]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 21, p. 57.
[34]) Vide Mehring F. Karl Marx. History of His Life, p. 262 (Russian edition).
[35]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 22, p. 354 (Russian edition).
[36]) Vide Zastenker N. Y. Modern Historiography of the European Countries and America. Moscow, 1967, pp. 223–226 (Russian edition).
[37]) Quoted from Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, p. 315.
[38]) Quoted from Golman L. From the League of Communists to the First International, p. 132 (Russian edition).
[39]) Blümenberg W. Karl Marx in seinen Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten, S. 120.
[40]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 728 (Russian edition).
[41]) V. I. Lenin too was endowed with such special publicistic vision (vide Yakovlev B. Lenin, the Publicist.)
[42]) Vide Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 68 (Russian edition).
[43]) Künzli A. Karl Marx. Eine Psychographie, S. 262.
[44]) Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 162.
[45]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 1, p. 50.
[46]) Vide Leviyova S. Z., Sinelnikova I. M. Marx's Manuscript Heritage in History. – Marx, the Historian, pp. 553, 582.
[47]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 14, p. 671.

[48]) Ibid.
[49]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, p. 391.
[50]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 30, p. 11, (Russian edition).
[51]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, p. 119.
[52]) Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 68 (Russian edition).
[53]) Vide ibid., p. 97.
[54]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 337.
[55]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 19, p. 168 (Russian edition).

Chapter III.
FUNDAMENTALS OF A CREATIVE METHOD

[1]) Engels F. Anti-Dühring. Moscow, 1959, p. 36.
[2]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 11.
[3]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 23, p. 189 (Russian edition).
[4]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 27, p. 367 (Russian edition).
[5]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 316–317.
[6]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 4, p. 49.
[7]) Ibid.
[8]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 349.
[9]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 349.
[10]) Vide Ibid., p. 314.
[11]) Ibid., p. 318.
[12]) Vide ibid., p. 312.
[13]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 29, p. 438 (Russian edition).
[14]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 352.
[15]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 267.
[16]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 25.
[17]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 548 (Russian edition).
[18]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 343.
[19]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 334.
[20]) Shtein G. Karl Marx and the Peasants of the Mosel. – Annals of Marxism, 1926, No. 1, p. 42 (Russian edition).
[21]) Vide Lapin N. I. Young Marx. Moscow, 1968, p. 120 (Russian edition).
[22]) Vide Lapin N. I. The Role of Concrete Social Studies

in the Formation of Marxism. – Marx and Sociology. Moscov, 1968, p. 92 (Russian edition).

[23]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 318.

[24]) Vide ibid., p. 349.

[25]) Ibid., p. 168.

[26]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 17, p. 243.

[27]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 13, p. 61.

[28]) Pain R. Marx, p. 273.

[29]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 332.

[30]) Vide ibid., p. 334.

[31]) Vide ibid., p. 332.

[32]) Vide ibid., v. 3, p. 200.

[33]) Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 70 (Russian edition).

[34]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 393.

[35]) Engels F. Anti-Dühring, p. 63.

[36]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 144.

[37]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 37, p. 243 (Russian edition).

[38]) Vide Kuzmin V. P. The System Principle in Karl Marx's Theory and Methodology. Moscow, 1976, p. 99 (Russian edition).

[39]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. The German Ideology. Moscow, 1964, p. 38.

[40]) Vide Marx and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 392.

[41]) Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, pp. 68, 69 (Russian edition).

[42]) Vide Zdorovega V. Words are Action. Moscow, 1979, p. 48 (Russian edition).

[43]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 144.

[44]) Vide ibid.

[45]) Ibid., p. 147.

[46]) Ibid., p. 147–148.

[47]) Ibid., p. 149.

[48]) Ibid., p. 149.

[49]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 189 (Russian edition).

[50]) Ibid.

[51]) Ibid., p. 191.

[52]) Vide ibid., p. 192.

[53]) Engels F. Dialectics of Nature. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, pp. 231–232.

[54]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 392.

[55]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 213.
[56]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 39.
[57]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 548 (Russian edition).
[58]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 15, p. 441 (Russian edition).
[59]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 70.
[60]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 711 (Russian edition).
[61]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 161.
[62]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, pp. 312–313.
[63]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 1, pp. 394–395.
[64]) Vide Marx K. Capital, v. III, p. 787.
[65]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 55 (Russian edition).
[66]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 25, p. 113.
[67]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 4, p. 447 (Russian edition).
[68]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 2, p. 223.
[69]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 38.
[70]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 38, p. 12.
[71]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 18, p. 532 (Russian edition).
[72]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 227.
[73]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 182.
[74]) Ibid.
[75]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, pp. 178–179.
[76]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 18–19.
[77]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 358 (Russian edition).
[78]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 182.
[79]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 166 (Russian edition).
[80]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 334 (Russian edition).
[81]) Vide ibid., p. 357.
[82]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 262–263.
[83]) Vide ibid., p. 226.
[84]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 120 (Russian edition).
[85]) Ibid., p. 434.
[86]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 223.

[87]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 28
[88]) Vide ibid., pp. 67–72.
[89]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, pp. 333–336.
[90]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, pp. 3–8.
[91]) Zdorovega V. Words are Action, p. 121 (Russian edition).
[92]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 18, p. 254.
[93]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 166 (Russian edition).
[94]) Vide Lenin V. I. coll. Works, v. 23, p. 272.
[95]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 76 (Russian edition).
[96]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 133.
[97]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 323.
[98]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7. p. 470, v. 12, p. 662, 663.
[99]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 319.
[100]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 50.
[101]) Vide ibid., p. 88.
[102]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 401 (Russian edition).
[103]) Vide Heine H. Complete Works in 12 Volumes, v. 10. Moscow, 1937, p. 337 (Russian edition).
[104]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 18.
[105]) Vide ibid., p. 66.
[106]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, pp. 40–41.
[107]) Vide Lapin N. I. Young Engels, p. 74 (Russian edition).
[108]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 30, p. 435 (Russian edition).
[109]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 428 (Russian edition).
[110]) Vide Timofeyev L. I. Fundamentals of the Theory of Literature. Moscow, 1976, p. 60 (Russian edition).
[111]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 418.
[112]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 466.
[113]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 373.
[114]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 11, p. 287.
[115]) Vide ibid., p. 316.
[116]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 17, p. 324 (Russian edition).
[117]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 17, pp. 68–69.
[118]) Ibic., pp. 69–70.
[119]) Vide ibid., pp. 25–26.

[120]) Vide Golman L. I. Historical Problems in Marx's Publicistic Works of the 1850s-early 1860s.– Marx, the Historian, pp. 279–280 (Russian edition).
[121]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 10, p. 311.
[122]) Timofeyev L. and Vengrov N. Concise Dictionary of Literary Terms. Moscow, 1958, p. 92 (Russian edition).
[133]) Vide Cherepakhov M. S. Problems of Theory of Publicism. Moscow, 1973, p. 128 (Russian edition).
[124]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, pp. 498–499.
[125]) Marx K and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 245 (Russian edition).
[126]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 11, pp. 305–306.
[127]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 414 (Russian edition).
[128]) Ibid., p. 191 (Russian edition).

Chapter IV.
MASTER OF GENRE PAINTING

[1]) Vide Friedlander G. K. K. Marx and F. Engels and Questions of Literature. Moscow, 1968, p. 135 (Russian edition).
[2]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 737 (Russian edition).
[3]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, pp. 333–334.
[4]) Vide Lenin V. I. Complete Coll. Works, v. 47, p. 134 (Russian edition).
[5]) Vide Lenin V. I. complete Coll. Works, v. 9, p. 407 (Russian edition).
[6]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 198.
[7]) Ibid., p. 227.
[8]) Vide ibid., p. 228.
[9]) Lenin V. I. Col. Works, v. 25, p. 407.
[10]) Marx K. and Engels W. F. Works, v. 10, p. 490.
[11]) Vide ibid., p. 510.
[12]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 13, pp. 510–512. (Russian edition).
[13]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 198.
[14]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 271–280.
[15]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 453.
[16]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 11, pp. 538–539.
[17]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 298. (Russian

edition).
[18]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 10, pp. 254–255.
[19]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 123; v. 7, p. 176; v. 8, p. 25; v. 8, p. 65.
[20]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, pp. 187–188.

Chapter V.
THE FORM HAS CONTENT

[1]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, pp. 311–312.
[2]) Vide ibid., pp. 229–230.
[3]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 198.
[4]) Ibid.
[5]) Vide ibid.
[6]) Vide Marx K. Capital, v. I, p. 18.
[7]) Ibid., p. 19.
[8]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 5, p. 311.
[9]) Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 2, p. 78.
[10]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 22, p. 81 (Russian edition).
[11]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, p. 41.
[12]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 40, pp. 451–452.
[13]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 27, p. 370. (Russian edition).
[14]) Vide ibid., p. 367.
[15]) Vide ibid., p. 370.
[16]) Vide ibid., p. 372.
[17]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 277. (Russian edition).
[18]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 27, p. 372.
[19]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 35, p. 140 (Russian edition).
[20]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 22, p. 82 (Russian edition).
[21]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, pp. 334–335.
[22]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F., Works, v. 1, p. 334.
[23]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 198.
[24]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 30, p. 75 (Russian edition).
[25]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 30, p. 80 (Russian edition).
[26]) Ushinski K. D. Coll. Works, v. II. Moscow, 1948, pp.

374–375 (Russian edition).

[27]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 30.

[28]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 250.

[29]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 50 (Russian edition).

[30]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 8.

[31]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 213.

[32]) Vide Marx K.and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 333.

[33]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 120 (Russian edition).

[34]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 158.

[35]) Vide ibid., p. 65.

[36]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 14, p. 53.

[37]) Vide ibid., pp. 55–56.

[38]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 158.

[39]) Vide ibid., p. 162.

[40]) Vide ibid., p. 162.

[41]) Vide ibid., pp. 162–163.

[42]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 178.

[43]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 498.

[44]) Ibid., p. 499.

[45]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 54.

[46]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8. p. 36.

[47]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 454.

[48]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 93.

[49]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 208 (Russian edition).

[50]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, pp. 445–446; v. 7, p. 298.

[51]) Vide Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 96 (Russian edition).

[52]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 355.

[53]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 492.

[54]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 271.

[55]) Vide Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 70 (Russian edition).

[56]) Central Archives, Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Moses Hess an Iskander (A. Herzen), f. 173, op. 1, unit III, 1648, No. 4.

[57]) Schwerbrock W. Karl Marx privat. Paul List Verlag. Munchen, 1962, S 6–7.

[58]) Künzli A. Karl Marx. Eine Psychographie, S. 230–231, 239.

[59]) Vide Mehring. Karl Marx, History of His Life, p. 257 (Russian edition).
[60]) Vide Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 97 (Russian edition).
[61]) Vide Cornu A. Karl Marx and Engels. Life and Work, vol. 1. Moscow, p. 258 (Russian edition).
[62]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 220.
[63]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 31, p. 367 (Russian edition).
[64]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 164.
[65]) Ibid.
[66]) Ibid., p. 166.
[67]) Ibid., p. 178.
[68]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, p. 3.
[69]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 317.
[70]) Ibid., p. 34.
[71]) Vide Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, pp. 96–97 (Russian edition).
[72]) Vide Mehring F. Karl Marx. History of His Life, p. 199 (Russian edition).
[73]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 499.
[74]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 16–17, p. 14–15.
[75]) Vide ibid., pp. 106, 107.
[76]) Vide Mehring F. Karl Marx. History of His Life, p. 257 (Russian edition).
[77]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 134.
[78]) Ibid., p. 214.
[79]) Vide ibid., p. 162.
[80]) Ibid., pp. 165–166.
[81]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, pp. 347–348.
[82]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 165.
[83]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Selected Works, v. 2, p. 24.
[84]) Karl Marx. A Biography, pp. 15–16 (Russian edition).
[85]) G. Volkov wrote about this peculiarity of Karl Marx's style (vide Volkov G. Birth of a Genius. Moscow, 1968, p. 160. – Russian edition.)
[86]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 162.
[87]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 123.
[88]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 182.
[89]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 313.
[90]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 162–163.
[91]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 500.

[92]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 9, pp. 445–446.
[93]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 296–297.
[94]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F., Works, v. 9, pp. 125–132.
[95]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, pp. 168–169.
[96]) V. I. Lenin, frequently made use of such synonymic series in his publicistic works (vide Yakovlev B. Lenin, the Publicist, p. 83. – Russian edition).
[97]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, pp. 259–260.
[98]) Vide ibid., p. 270.
[99]) Ibid., p. 174.
[100]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 7, p. 256.
[101]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 213.

Chapter VI.
DESTRUCTION FOR CONSTRUCTION

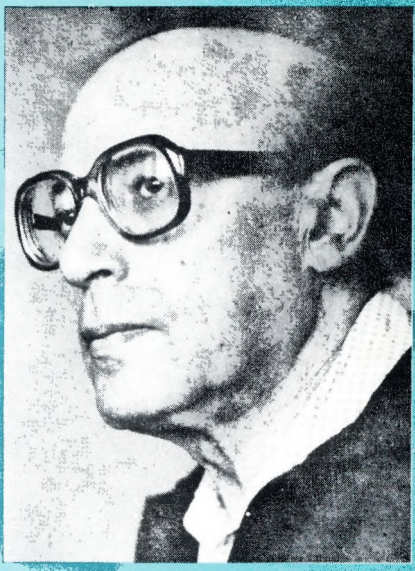
[1]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 15, p. 29.
[2]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 6, p. 294.
[3]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 39, p. 316.
[4]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 142.
[5]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 317.
[6]) Vide ibid., p. 316.
[7]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 37, p. 332 (Russian edition).
[8]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 351.
[9]) Ibid., pp. 351–352.
[10]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 28, p. 422 (Russian edition).
[11]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 1, p. 321.
[12]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 16, p. 512.
[13]) Mende G. Karl Marx's Transition from Revolutionary Democracy to Communism. Moscow, 1957, pp. 43–44, (Russian edition).
[14]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 206.
[15]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 35, p. 357 (Russian edition).
[16]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 3, p. 179.
[17]) Vide ibid., p. 177.
[18]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 30, p. 402 (Russian edition).
[19]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 40, p. 409.
[20]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 225.

[21]) Reminiscences of Marx and Engels, p. 97 (Russian edition).
[22]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 12, p. 503 (Russian edition).
[23]) Vide Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 8, p. 166.

CONCLUSION

[1]) Lenin V. I. Complete Coll. Works, v. 49, p. 378. (Russian edition).
[2]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 21, p. 81.
[3]) Lenin V. I. Coll. works, v. 4, pp. 211–212.
[4]) Marx K. and Engels F. Works, v. 21, p. 302 (Russian edition).
[5]) Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 9, p. 70.
[6]) Ibid.
[7]) Vide Lenin V. I. Coll. Works, v. 28, p. 98.
[8]) Ibid.

Semyon M. Gurevich
Karl Marx – the Publicist
Translated from Russian by V. Krivoshchekov
Published by the International Organization of Journalists
Prague 1, Pařížská 9
Printed by Severografia – Most



Semyon M. Gurevich – Professor at the Faculty of Journalism at the Lomonosov State University in Moscow, Doctor of historical sciences. He was born in 1920 and participated in the Great Patriotic War. Professor Gurevich is a researcher dealing with literary bequest and journalistic works by K. Marx and F. Engels, theory and practice of Soviet journalism and above all with the problems of scientific organization of journalistic activities and editorial work. He has published some 170 works, including more than 20 books – monographs, textbooks, lectures etc., e.g. "Neue Rheinische Zeitung of K. Marx and F. Engels" (1958), "Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels – founders of the theory of communist journalism" (1973), "Exposure of a deceitful legend. K. Marx and F. Engels about bourgeois press" (1975), "Production and layout of newspapers" (1977), "Planning of work in an editorial office" (1979). A number of his books have been translated into German, Czech, Bulgarian, English, French, Spanish and other languages. Semyon M. Gurevich also often publishes in the Soviet press.

He has been awarded the Prize of Soviet Journalists for his book "Karl Marx the Publicist" (1982).

LENIN ABOUT THE PRESS

A significant work, prepared by international editorial collective. It comprises articles, speeches, reports, comments and letters by V. I. Lenin, giving a true picture on history, tradition and tactics of the democratic and proletarian press. Marxist conception of the freedom of press, its role in building up socialism, as well as basic problems of the mass communication in general.

This exceptional work, as far as its extent is concerned, is completed with scientific documentation.

550 pages; cloth hard-back; enclosure of photographs; in English, French and German
Price: 7.50 US dollars

Georgi Dimitrov

THE PRESS IS A GREAT FORCE

A work by the collective of Bulgarian journalists comprises articles of a great leader of Bulgarian people, written during his long active participation in the struggle for liberation of his country and world from fascism and for construction of the socialist society. There are many good advices of a wise and experienced revolutionary in that book, which is necessary to be read by all who want to give their pens in the service of progress.

50 pages; cloth hard-back, with illustrations; in English
Price: 4.50 US dollars

JULIUS FUČÍK – REPORTER OF REVOLUTION

In the first of these two volumes the reader will find a selection of newspaper articles and reports which Julius Fučík wrote in the years 1920 – 1942 for several progressive papers.

The second volume contains the famous "Report from the Gallows" which has so far been translated into 90 languages and published in some 300 editions. In this book, written in a Nazi prison, which may rightly be considered one of the most emotional literary testimonies, Fučík gave his message – in foreboding death, but in the name of life – calling on all people never to allow a repetition of such a monstrous thing as Hitler's fascism.

(This publication appeared also in Spanish)
Price: 9.00 US dollars or equivalent

J. Tomáš – D. Kozlová

E. E. KISCH – JOURNALIST AND FIGHTER

This book is being issued on the centenary of the birth of Egon Erwin Kisch, the outstanding journalist and writer. It includes a biography of Kisch and a selection of his writings. The book is a remarkable translation which succeeds in retaining Kisch's very unique literary style and the atmosphere of the period in which he wrote. In English, 12 US dollars or equivalent.